LALIT KALĀ

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Nos. 1-2, APRIL 1955-MARCH 1956

Lalit Kalā Akadami

LALIT KALA

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL ART
CHIEFLY INDIAN

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Published by Barada Ukil, Secretary, Lalit Kalā Akadami, Jaipur House, New Delhi and printed by Isaac N. Isaac at Vakil & Sons (Private) Ltd., Narandas Building, 18, Ballard Estate, Bombay-1.

LALIT KALĀ

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Nos. 1 - 2, April 1955 - March 1956

LALIT KALĀ AKADAMI
INDIA

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Subscriptions should be forwarded to :

The Secretary
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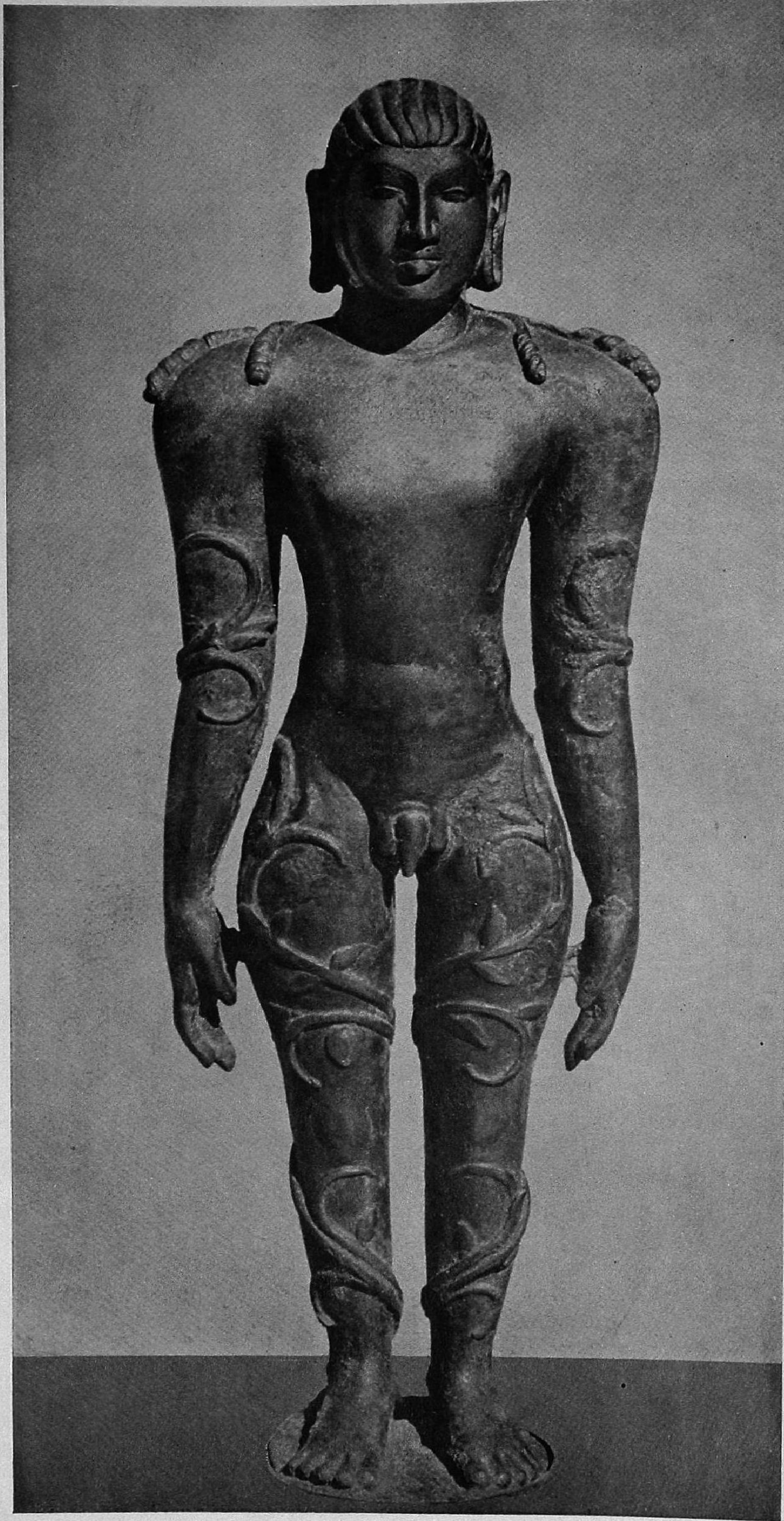

Metal image of Bāhubalī from Śrāvaṇabelagolā. Ninth century A.D.
Probably an example of Gaṅga sculpture. See p. 32.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
Photo: K. G. Samil.

EDITORIAL

LALIT KALĀ is a bi-annual journal devoted mainly to Indian art and archaeology but also embracing in its scope all aspects of Oriental art and archaeology which have any connection with the culture of this country.

It is published by the Lalit Kalā Akadami which is the National Academy of Fine Arts — an institution sponsored and supported by the Government of India, but possessing its own autonomous constitution.

The Lalit Kalā Akadami has many functions to perform and one of its most important activities is the dissemination of knowledge relating to Indian art in a simple and attractive form. The Akadami thus hopes to make the man in the street conscious of his cultural heritage.

With this end in view the Akadami has planned a series of illustrated brochures entitled the 'Lalit Kalā Series of Indian Art' under the general editorship of Shri Karl Khandalavala, the Vice-Chairman of the Akadami. The first brochure in this series, *Mughal Miniatures* by Rai Krishnadasa, the founder-curator of the famous Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, has already been published. It is reviewed in the pages of the present issue.

The policy of the Akadami in this series is to ensure good book production with particular emphasis on accurate colour reproduction. Each brochure will contain a brief but authoritative text together with notes on the illustrations. They will be sold on a strictly no-profit basis, as the Akadami is not a commercial organization, and accordingly they bid fair to be the best value in books on Indian art. *The Kṛishṇa Legend* by M. S. Randhawa and *Mewar Painting* by Dr. Moti Chandra are already in press. They will be followed by others which will be announced in the pages of this journal.

Though these brochures will undoubtedly contain information of interest to scholars and connoisseurs, they are meant primarily for the art loving public in general. The journal *Lalit Kalā*, however, serves a different purpose. Its main objective is to publish contributions and reviews which maintain sound traditions of scholarship and research. Its pages are open to all who have the necessary knowledge to write with authority, no matter whether the propositions enunciated be controversial or not. But it has no use for journalistic articles or mere compilations from standard works. It is hoped that in this endeavour the Akadami will receive the support of scholars and students of Indian art and archaeology in this country and abroad.

The necessity for such a journal need hardly be emphasized. Contributions relating to new acquisitions, or dealing with unpublished sculptures and paintings of note in Indian and foreign museums and collections, are what we particularly seek, and we express the hope that museum directors and curators as well as collectors who desire to publish the lesser known treasures of Indian and Oriental art will avail themselves of the pages of this journal.

The present issue is a double number as due to circumstances beyond our control the original idea of two separate issues for the year 1955-56 had to be abandoned. In future, however, we hope to publish two separate issues yearly.

Lalit Kalā will also contain material to illustrate tendencies in contemporary Indian art, including folk art. Moreover, publications dealing with Indian art and archaeology and allied subjects, which are sent to us, will be adequately reviewed.

Each issue will contain several accurate colour plates of paintings, manuscript illustrations, etc. which hitherto have not been reproduced in colour and it will be the policy of the editors not to publish material that has already appeared in other journals unless a fuller or a different treatment warrants its acceptance.

We embark on this venture with the realization that the Akadami has set itself a difficult task. We are mindful of the solid contribution made by Indian and European Indologists in the past though the pages of several learned journals which no longer function. It will be our endeavour to emulate the high standards set by these journals and provide a forum for serious research. At the same time we feel that even the scholarship of specialists can be presented in a manner that would attract the attention of those who are interested in all aspects of culture. It is well to remember that such a policy may have fruitful results. The dilettante of today may develop into the scholar of tomorrow.

EDITORIAL NOTES

I. *A CONTEMPORARY PORTRAIT OF TĀNSEN*

AKBAR's love of music is well known. He gathered round him a galaxy of brilliant musicians among whom Tānsen occupied the most prominent position. According to Abu'l Fazl,[1] '*His Majesty pays much attention to music and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at court, Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, and Kashmiris, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day in the week. When His Majesty gives the order, they let the wine of harmony flow, and thus increase intoxication in some, and sobriety in others*'.

Unfortunately very few historical facts are known about the early life of Miyān Tānsen. That he came from Gwalior is certain as the *Āīn*[2] mentions him as a singer from Gwalior,

'*a singer like him had not been in India for the last thousand years*'.

It is said that Tānsen's father was a Hindu Gauḍ Brahmin named Makarand Pāṇḍe of Banaras and that he first learnt music and the art of composition from Svāmī Haridās and then became a disciple of the famous Sufi saint and musician Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior. The legend asserts that Muhammad Ghaus, in order to impart the gift of music to his promising pupil, touched his tongue with his own, and thus Tānsen lost caste and became a Muslim singer in Akbar's service. This supposed conversion of Miyān Tānsen rests only on legend and has no historical basis.[3]

It has been suggested that the Hindu names of most of the singers from Gwalior at Akbar's court go to show their Hindu origin but this view is untenable as the names are only expressive of the musical talents of the singers bearing them. Akbar, as is well known, preferred names of Hindu origin and is said to have invented many Hindu names for textiles, etc.

There is, however, some slight evidence to support the theory of Tānsen's Hindu origin. One Nāyak Pāṇḍavīya, a Banaras musician, was at the court of the great Raja Mānsingh Toṅvar (1486-1519) who was the inventor of the *dhrupad* and unequalled in the theory and practice of music. It may be that Makarand Pāṇḍe of the legend, the supposed father of Tānsen, was none other than Nāyak Pāṇḍavīya.

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1 Blochmann, H. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 2nd Ed., Calcutta 1939, p. 681 (Trans. *Bibliotheca Indica* Series).

2 *Ibid.*, p. 681.

3 S. K. Chatterji, 'Kavīvara Tānsen', *Sammelan Patrikā*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 8-9.

The date of Tānsen's birth is not certain. It is stated in the *Śivasingh-Saroj* that he was born in 1531-32. Though this may be only a conjectural date it may well be correct. According to Vincent Smith,[1] Tānsen died in the 34th regnal year of Akbar, late in April 1589 (A. H. 997) probably at Gwalior. Smith, however, has not quoted his authority for this date. Though we know of no evidence to support this date, it may be that Tānsen died in Akbar's lifetime because a *dohā* supposed to have been composed by Akbar says:

Pīthala so majlis gaī, Tānsen so rāg
Hasibo ramibo bolibo, gayo Bīrabara sātha.
Social life disappeared with Pīthala ; music disappeared with Tānsen, and laughter, repartee and conversation with Bīrbal.

On the other hand a reference to Tānsen in the account of Asad Beg's mission to Bijapur[2] seems to suggest that Tānsen was alive in 1603-1604 A.D. Speaking about the events of 1603-04 Asad Beg says that he was invited to the royal palace to bid farewell to Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur on the night of 27th Sh'aban. A grand music party had been arranged for the occasion. Asad Beg found Ibrāhīm so rapt in listening to music that he could hardly reply to Asad Beg's questions. The conversation for sometime was mainly concerned with music and musicians. Ibrāhīm wanted to know whether Tānsen stood or sat while singing before Akbar, and was told that in the Darbar and during day time Tānsen had to stand while singing, but at night and on the occasion of the *Nauroz* and *Jashan* festivals he and other musicians were permitted to sit and perform. If Asad Beg is referring to contemporary events, as seems likely, then it would mean that Tānsen was alive in 1603-04. Keay[3] states that Tānsen died in 1610, but does not mention the authority for this date.

The material for reconstructing Tānsen's early life and training is extremely meagre. Born at Gwalior he received training in music there. That he was at one time in the service of the Sūr rulers of Delhi seems fairly certain. Badāonī[4] states that Muhammad Ādil (son of Nizām Khān Sūr), popularly known as Adalī, was so skilled in dancing that Miyān Tānsen, the well known Kalāwant (musician), used to own to being his pupil.

Later on we find that Tānsen was in the service of Raja Rāmchand of Bāndhogarh (Rewa), who much appreciated his talents. The Raja was a great patron of Tānsen and according to Badāonī,[5] he gave him in one day a crore of gold pieces. The *Vīrabhānūdayakāvyam*[6] says:

[1] Vincent Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, 2nd Ed., Oxford 1926, p. 423.
[2] P. M. Joshi, 'Asad Beg's Mission', *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, Poona 1950, p. 193.
[3] F. E. Keay, *Hindi Literature*, 2nd Ed., Calcutta 1933, p. 33.
[4] Badāonī, *Muntakhabu't Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 557 (Trans. *Bibliotheca Indica* Series).
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 345.
[6] *The Baghela Dynasty of Rewah*, p. 14 (Memoir No. 21, Archaeological Survey of India).

PLATE A. A contemporary portrait of the singer Tānsen. Mughal school. Akbar period. 1585-1590 A.D. Same size. National Museum, New Delhi. Formerly in the collection of the Udaipur Darbar.

'for every song and each tāna and each dhrupad he gave a crore of rupees to this musician (kalāvid), namely Tānsen, who was the embodiment of the art of music.'

Though in this reference the gold coins of Badāōnī are changed to silver coins, yet poetic exaggerations apart, it is clear that Tānsen received munificent gifts from his patron. Raja Rāmchand in all probability persuaded Tānsen to come to his court when the Sūr paramountcy ended with Humayun's victory in 1555 A.D. Tānsen, however, did not remain with Raja Rāmchand for more than seven years. His reputation reached the ears of Akbar and in 1562 Akbar forced Raja Rāmchand to send Tānsen to him. Describing the events of 1562 Abu'l Fazl[1] observes :

'As the fame of Tānsen, who was the foremost of the age among the Kalāwants of Gwalior, came to the royal hearing and it was reported that he meditated going into retirement and that he was spending his days in attendance on Rāmchand, the Raja of Pannah, His Majesty ordered that he should be enrolled among the court musicians. Jalāl Khān Qurchi, who was a favourite servant, was sent with a gracious order for the purpose of bringing Tānsen. The Raja received the royal message and recognized the sending of the envoy as an honour, and sent back with him suitable presents of elephants of fame and valuable jewels, and he also gave Tānsen suitable instruments and made him the cheekmole of his gifts. In this year Tānsen did homage and received exaltation. His Majesty was pleased and poured gifts of money into the lap of his hopes. His cap of honour was exalted above all others. As he had an upright nature and an acceptable disposition he was cherished by a long service and association with His Majesty and great developments were made by him in music and compositions.'

Besides the passage quoted above there are some incidental references to Tānsen in Mughal history. One such reference indicates that Tānsen not only had to meet formidable adversaries in musical contests, but also contend with puritans who had little respect for his music and innovations.

Jahāngīr, in his memoirs, mentions Tānsen twice. During his march from Dhar in 1617 he alighted near the town of Sahra on the edge of a bank and was at once impressed by the lotus flowers blooming there. After giving a description of the lotus he observes :[2]

'As the black bee is a constant attendant on these flowers, the poets of India look on it as a lover of the flower, like the nightingale and have put into verse sublime descriptions of it. Of these poets the chief was Tānsen Kalāwant, who was without rival in my father's service (in fact, there has been no singer like him in any time or age). In one of his compositions he has likened the face of a young man to

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1 *Akbarnāmāh*, Vol. 2, pp. 279-80 (Trans. *Bibliotheca Indica* Series).

2 Rogers and Beveridge, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. 1, pp. 412-13 (Trans. London 1909).

the sun and the opening of his eyes to the expanding of the Kanwal and the exit of the bee. In another place he has compared the side-glance of the beloved one to the motion of the Kanwal when the bee alighted on it.'

While describing the events of 1618, Jahāngīr observed[1] that Shaikh Salīm Chishtī at the time of his impending death requested Akbar to send Tānsen to him. After Tānsen had finished his music the saint died.

It has already been stated that Svāmī Haridās was said to be one of the teachers of Tānsen. Haridās, who lived at Brindaban, was the founder of a sub-sect of the Nimbārka sect of Vaishnavism. He was a great devotee of Kṛishṇa, and a great singer. Akbar was very eager to hear him but Haridās refused to proceed to Fatehpur. One legend says that Akbar in the guise of a *sādhu* went to hear his music accompanied by Tānsen. Tānsen, while singing before his *guru*, intentionally committed a mistake. Thereupon, Haridās corrected the mistake by means of a practical demonstration. It is said that such was the effect of Haridās's music that the Emperor lost his consciousness for some time. After regaining his senses Akbar asked Tānsen why he could not sing as well as his teacher. The reply was :

'Your Majesty, I sing in the court of a mighty ruler, while my teacher sings in the court of God.'

Whatever truth there may be in this legend, this meeting of Akbar, Tānsen and Haridās was regarded as a historical fact in the 18th century and the episode was illustrated by Rajasthani painters (Pl. I, Fig. 1).

Other legends relate to the supposed rivalry between Tānsen and Baiju Bāwrā in which Tānsen always came off second best. Unfortunately history is silent about Baiju. It is possible that by Baiju, the great musician Nāyak Bakshū, trained by Raja Mānsingh Tonvar is meant. But as Nāyak Bakshū flourished a generation before Tānsen, apparently the partisans of Bakshū set afoot the legends to establish his superiority over Tānsen. That such partisan spirit did exist even in the middle of the 17th century is evident from the remarks of Faqirullāh[2] who asserts that in Mānsingh's time there were master theorists on music such as did not exist in the Akbar period and that in Akbar's time the musicians were amateurs, well versed in the technique of practical singing, but sadly lacking knowledge of the principles of music.

The glory of Tānsen mainly rests on his music but he was also a good poet. The sixteenth century was the classical age of Hindi poetry. The *Ashṭachhāpa* poets poured forth their rapturous songs in praise of Kṛishṇa, and Tulsidās sang the glories of Rāma. Though Persian was

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1 Rogers and Beveridge, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Vol. 2, pp. 70-71 (Trans. London 1909).

2 *Rāgdarpan*, Gwalior 1953, pp. 29-30 (Hindi Trans.).

the official language of the Mughal court, Akbar himself was fond of *Braj Bhāshā* and is said to have composed *dohās* and *kabittas* in that language.

History is strangely silent about the personality of Tānsen. Both Percy Brown[1] and Vincent Smith[2] have published miniatures purporting to be portraits of Tānsen, but it is clear, as we shall presently see, that their identifications are erroneous. There is also a portrait in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., Bombay, which was sold by the dealer Imre Schwaiger of Delhi as a portrait of Tānsen, but here again the identification is incorrect.

Fortunately there is a contemporary portrait of the great musician in the National Museum, New Delhi. It was presented to the Museum by the late Maharaṇa of Udaipur and is reproduced herein for the first time in colour[3] as Plate A. It shows Tānsen to be a tall man with a sharp aquiline nose, pointed chin and dark complexion. He used to wear thin drooping moustaches and side whiskers. He has a thoughtful and somewhat dreamy expression. His small hands are characterized by long sensitive fingers. He stands facing to the right, clapping his hands, apparently in the attitude of singing. He wears an *aṭpaṭī pagṛī*, a white *jāmah* reaching to the ankles, a *dupaṭṭa* crossed over the chest and a *kamarband* to which a dagger and knife are attached. There can be no doubt that in Pl. A we have one of that rare group of individual portraits of the Akbar period, perhaps the finest of which is the small but exquisite miniature of Raja Bīrbal in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras. Plate A, which is a masterly study, has affinities to the Bīrbal portrait in its smallness of size, extreme simplicity of treatment and presentation, quiet but penetrating characterization and impeccable technique. The Hindi inscription on the reverse (p. 19), mentions the name of the great singer as 'Miyān Tānsen'. The portrait must have been painted by one of Akbar's court painters between 1585-1590 when Tānsen was about fifty-five years of age. It is not known when it found its way into the Udaipur collection. The Hindi inscription, which is in sanguine, may or may not be contemporary with the portrait, but there can be no doubt about its correctness for two reasons:

(*a*) Two other inscribed portraits of Tānsen (Pl. I, Figs. 2 and 3) go to indicate that the singer in Plate A is none other than Tānsen.

(*b*) Pl. I, Fig. 1 illustrates the legend of Akbar and Tānsen visiting Svāmī Haridās and therein we can see the facial resemblance between Tānsen and the singer in Plate A. Though Pl. I, Fig. 1, belongs to the 18th century it is clear that the artist who painted it

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1 Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Oxford 1924, Pl. XI, pp. 56-57; Pls. XXXI and LXII, p. 155.

2 Vincent Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, 2nd Ed., opp. p. 422.

3 It was reproduced in monochrome in the *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Antiquities*, Coronation Darbar 1911, Pl. 52 (f).

had a fairly good likeness of Tānsen before him for guidance. Several portraits of Tānsen must have been painted at Akbar's court though the only contemporary example known is Pl. A.

Tānsen's small tightly bound turban in Pl. A, as well as the long narrow *paṭkā* (waist-sash) ends are very characteristic of the Akbar period. The *jāmah* reaching to the ground was not the court dress of Akbar's time though it is seen on rare occasions. It was, however, in vogue in the Deccan at the court of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh of Bijapur and at the Ahmadnagar court. Perhaps the Gwalior and other Kalāwants[1] affected this long *jāmah*, or it may be that Tānsen had adopted this costume at the Sūr court of Muhammad Ādil (Adalī) or at the court of Raja Rāmchand of Bandhogarh and continued to wear it when he entered Akbar's service. There can be no doubt that this long *jāmah* gave prominence to his tall dignified figure and that may be the reason why he preferred it to the characteristic shorter *jāmah* of the Akbar period.

It would appear that the fame of Tānsen was so great that his portraits continued to be painted even after his death, and for a long time to come. One such portrait in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is reproduced as Pl. I, Fig. 2. The costume, attitude, and features are similar to those seen in Pl. A, save that Tānsen appears to be a younger man in the Prince of Wales Museum example. His lips are open as if in the act of singing. The portrait has a green background. The inscriptions at the back in Persian and Hindi are interesting. The Persian inscription (p. 19) reads :

'Shabīh Tānsen Kalāwant. Az Delhī mārfat Mahānāth'.

It means that it is a portrait of Tānsen Kalāwant and that one Mahānāth brought it from Delhi. It is not known from which place Mahānāth brought it. The Hindi inscription (p. 19), besides giving the name as '*Kalāwant Tānsen*', gives additional information, in the form of a couplet, that the singing of *Dīpaka Rāga* was the cause of his death:

Rāg Dīpaka gāyo, tethī maraṇa pāyo.

This couplet apparently refers to the legend that as Tānsen was forced to sing *Dīpaka Rāga*, fire was ignited by his wonderful singing and consumed his body. There were many such legends afloat. It was said that when he sang *Megh Malār*, clouds would burst, and that by singing certain other melodies he could make trees put forth their blossoms.

Pl. I, Fig. 2, belongs to the Mughal school of Delhi of the second half of the 17th century and appears to be based on Pl. A or on another similar contemporary portrait. Several slightly

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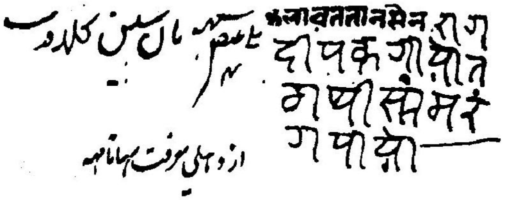
1 See the long *jāmah* of the musician in the right bottom corner of Fig. 11 on p. 12 of *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 3. It is a painting by Sālivāhana dated 1610.

Incorrectly identified as Tānsen by Percy Brown.
Indian Paintings under the Mughals, 1924, Pl. LXII.

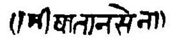
Incorrectly identified as Tānsen by Percy Brown.
Indian Paintings under the Mughals, 1924, Pl. XI.

Incorrectly identified as Tānsen by Vincent Smith.
Akbar the Great Moghul, 2nd Ed. opp. p. 422.

.Naubat Khān, son-in-law of Tānsen.
Sketch in the possession of
Karl Khandalavala



Facsimile of Hindi and Persian inscriptions on the reverse of the Tānsen portrait in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Pl. I, Fig. 2).



Facsimile of Hindi inscription on the reverse of the Tānsen portrait in the National Museum (Pl. A).

differing versions or contemporary copies of Pl. A may have existed because the music loving Mughal aristocrats would naturally be anxious to possess portraits of this incomparable musician in their private collections of miniatures. After Tānsen's death the demand for his portraits appears to have continued and thus copies, such as Pl. I, Fig. 2, came into being. Though it is a very neatly executed study it lacks the masterly handling, delicacy and sensitiveness of the contemporary portrait (Plate A) of the National Museum.

A third portrait of Tānsen in the Allahabad Museum (Pl. I, Fig. 3) resembles the portrait of Tānsen in the National Museum (Plate A) save that the *pagrī* is of striped material. There is no dagger and no knife attached to the *kamarband*, and the face is that of a younger man. The *jāmah* is depicted in broad pleats and the *paṭkā* (waist-sash) ends are very broad. It belongs to the second half of the 17th century. The remarks made with regard to the Prince of Wales Museum example (Pl. I, Fig. 2) are also applicable to the Allahabad example.

Earlier we had referred to the legend of Akbar and Tānsen meeting Svāmī Haridās. That this legend had gained currency by the middle of the eighteenth century is evident from a Kishangarh school painting in the National Museum, New Delhi (Pl. I, Fig. 1). The scene is laid in a beautiful landscape with flowering trees swarming with buds. On the right, Haridās, a lean and thin person with clean shaven head, is playing on a *vīṇā*. On the left, Tānsen is seated in Persian fashion and behind him stands Akbar with folded hands. The black clouds overcast the sky. The painting breathes an atmosphere of pious quietude providing a proper background to the grand music of the master and his disciple. Tānsen is depicted as a younger man than seen in the National Museum portrait (Pl. A), but the facial resemblance is unmistakeable.

We will now refer to the incorrect identifications of Tānsen. Percy Brown[1] has reproduced a miniature which is supposed to represent the arrival of Tānsen at the court of Akbar. It is not known on what basis he has identified the scene as Tānsen's arrival at Akbar's court. The singer standing on the left, below the throne, has no resemblance to the authentic portraits of Tānsen such as Pl. A. There were many singers at Akbar's court ; but the painting reproduced by Brown is not even a miniature of the Akbar period though Brown dates it to *circa* 1562. It is obvious from the turbans and *paṭkās* that it was painted during the Shāh Jahān period or even later. The different fashions of the *pagrī*, the *paṭkā*, and the *jāmah*, during different reigns, afford valuable guidance in the dating of Mughal miniatures. Moreover, the king seated on the throne has little or no resemblance to Akbar.

In another painting,[2] representing a processional scene at the court of Jahāngīr, in the upper

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[1] Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Plate XI, pp. 56-57.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pls. XXXI and LXII, p. 155.

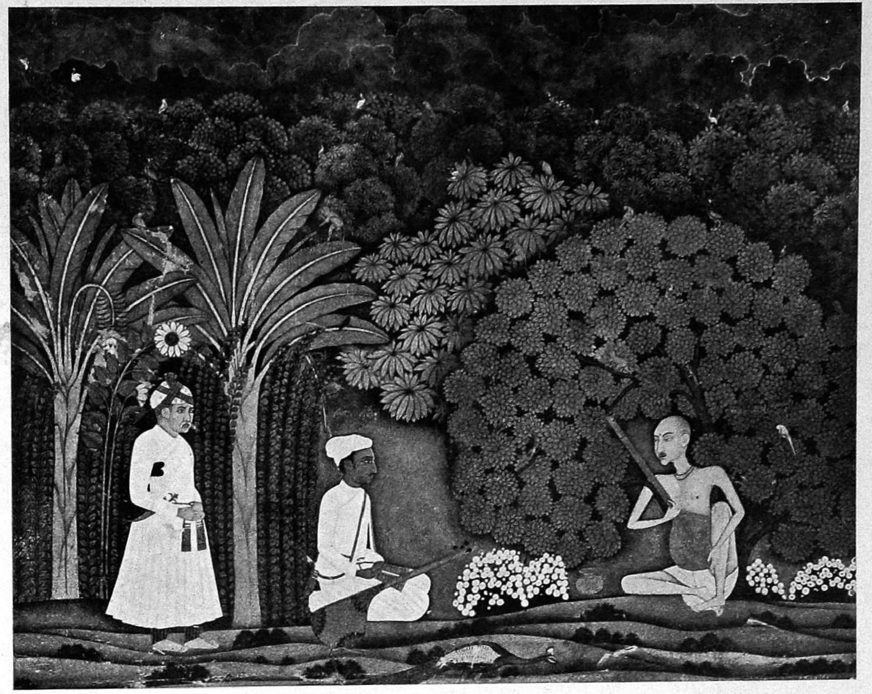

Fig. 1. Akbar (left) and Tānsen (centre) visit Svāmī Haridās (right). Kishangarh school. Second half of 18th century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi.

Fig. 3. Tānsen Kalāwant. Mughal school. Second half of 17th century A.D. Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

Fig. 2. Tānsen Kalāwant. Mughal school. Second half of 17th century Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Size $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$

Fig. 1. *Chandraśekhara*. Chālukyan school. 13th century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection. The pedestal is not original.

Fig. 2. Back view of Fig. 1

Fig. 3. Side view of Fig. 1.

Fig. 4. Chālukyan Stone image. 12th century A.D.

group of musicians the clean shaven elder of the two performers has been identified by Percy Brown as Miyān Tānsen. Even if we accept the date 1610 for the death of Tānsen, nevertheless Brown's identification cannot be correct as there is no physical resemblance between the authentic portrait of Miyān Tānsen (Pl. A) and that of the old musician appearing in the procession scene. This old musician may possibly be identified with Lāl Kalāwant who died in 1608 at the age of seventy.[1]

Vincent Smith[2] also mentions two portraits of Tānsen — one in the Johnson collection (Album 57, Folio 44) in the former India Office, and a full length portrait of Tānsen on a small scale in a court group of Jahāngīr's time in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Vincent Smith states that the personage seen in the India Office miniature is the same person depicted in the court scene belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. The India Office miniature is reproduced by Smith[3] and it is clearly not Tānsen but a young boy squatting on the ground holding what may be an *ektārā* (single stringed instrument). He appears to be a young Muslim mendicant with a bowl near his knees. If this is the personage depicted in the Royal Asiatic Society's miniature then his identification as Tānsen is incorrect. If the young Muslim mendicant is meant to be Tānsen as a boy then the portrait cannot be authentic. It is most unlikely that any portraits of Tānsen as a boy were ever painted because he became famous only when grown up.

Tānsen, though converted to Islam, remained a great devotee of the Krishṇa cult, and it is said that he was permitted to enter and worship in the temples of the *Vallabhāchārya Sampradāya*.

Tānsen was not only a great singer but was reputed to be an accomplished *bīnkār*. It is said that his daughter named Sarasvatī married the noted *bīnkār* Misrī Singh, known as Naubat Khān. This tradition apparently has some basis because a sketch of Naubat Khān (p. 19) has an inscription stating that he was the son-in-law of Tānsen. The sketch is from a contemporary 'pounce' of the well known *bīnkār* and is authentic as can be seen from Naubat Khān's portrait in the Boston Museum,[4] which bears an inscription giving the name of the *bīnkār* as '*Naubat Khān Kalāwant*'.

2. *A CHĀLUKYAN METAL IMAGE OF CHANDRAŚEKHARA*

IN the National Museum, New Delhi, there is a large Chandraśekhara image (Pl. II, Figs. 1,

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1 Rogers and Beveridge, *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri*, Vol. I, p. 150.
2 Vincent Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, 2nd Ed., pp. 423 and 484.
3 *Ibid.*, opp. p. 422. As regards the miniature of the Royal Asiatic Society we tried to obtain a photo of it but it could not be traced.
4 Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Boston Museum*, Pt. 6, 1930, Pl. 28, Fig. 63, p. 39.

2 and 3) which is different from any of the known categories of South Indian bronzes. It was formerly in the well known Treasurywala collection, Bombay. It is about 20" high and the metal is of a rich warm-black hue. It is an unfinished image in the sense that though the face and certain parts have been fully worked upon, there are other parts still in the rough state when the image was taken out of its mould and only preliminary chiselling had been done. There may be various reasons for the work on the image not being completed.

The pedestal is obviously not an original one and should be ignored for the purpose of dating this bronze or ascertaining its provenance.

The first impression one receives, by reason of the large, heavy ponderous face, the shape of the *mukuṭa* and the style of ornamentation is that this image is in some manner related to Hoysaḷa art. This first impression is not unwarranted, though we have come to the conclusion that it is not an example of Hoysaḷa metal sculpture. In fact it appears to be an example of late Chāḷukyan art and its provenance may be the Bellary District or thereabouts.

A stylistic analysis of the image shows :

(a) that the heavy ponderous face with large nose is unlike that of the South Indian bronzes of the Choḷa country, but is very similar to the heavy faces with short necks so commonly seen in Hoysaḷa and late Chāḷukyan stone sculpture (Pl. II, Fig. 4).

(b) The tall *mukuṭa*, somewhat cylindrical in shape with a domed top and peak, and with a characteristic ornament in the centre, is seen in late Chāḷukyan sculpture.

(c) The large flat necklace (*hāra*), ornamented so as to indicate that it is gem-set, is seen in late Chāḷukyan sculpture (Pl. II, Fig. 4).

(d) The long necklace, extending halfway down the chest, is characteristic of a large number of Chāḷukyan images with this difference that in Chāḷukyan and Hoysaḷa art this long necklace usually falls from under the *hāra*, whereas in our image it falls over the *hāra*. This is not a disconcerting factor, because there are examples of late Chāḷukyan art in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, where the long necklace falls over the *hāra*.

(e) The nipples consist of small but quite cylindrical projections clearly standing out from a raised circle. Now this is the most characteristic treatment of the nipples in Hoysaḷa and Chāḷukyan stone figures and goes a considerable way to confirm our first impression that we are dealing with a work of the Hoysaḷa or the Chāḷukyan school. These cylindrical raised nipples can be seen clearly if a magnifying glass is applied to Pl. II, Figs. 1 and 4.

(f) The wavy lines of the *dhotī* can be seen in Chāḷukyan images as at the Veṇugopāla temple, Magala, Bellary District, where the wavy lines are at the sides of the legs.

(g) The large bracelets (Pl. II, Fig. 3) follow the type constantly seen in Chāḷukyan sculpture and stand out high above the wrists as in Pl. II, Fig. 4.

(h) The meandering ornamentation of the waist girdle is quite unusual and reminiscent of designs seen in the carvings on Hoysaḷa and Chāḷukyan temples.

(i) The fleshy undulating stomach is unlike that seen in South Indian bronzes but very similar to that seen in Chāḷukyan sculpture (Pl. II, Fig. 4).

With regard to the date of the image it can hardly be later than the 13th century A.D. It has none of the characteristics of the Vijayanagar period. Bronzes from the Mysore and Karṇāṭaka areas are not unknown but those earlier than the 13th century are comparatively rare. The find-spot of the image is not known or in any event not disclosed. The late B. N. Treasurywala used to say that it was found near the Mysore country. He no doubt based his statement on the information given by the dealer from whom it was purchased.

The crescent moon and the figure of *Gaṅgā* can be seen in the *mukuṭa*. The ornamentation and decoration is in high relief and possesses that quality of 'massiveness' which is so characteristic ornamentation in Southern images upto the 13th century, but which disappears thereafter. The expression on the heavy ponderous face is full of intensity and the image though not elegant is endowed with majesty.

3. *IDENTIFICATION OF THE PORTRAITS OF MALIK AMBAR*

MALIK AMBAR, the famous Peshwa of the rulers of Ahmadnagar, was born in an obscure Abyssinian family in *circa* 1549 A.D.[1] He was bought as a slave in the market of Baghdad by Mīr Qāsim, otherwise known as Khwājā Baghdādī, and sold to Chenghīz Khān, the minister of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1588). Ambar received his training in politics by observing how the administrative machinery functioned under his master. He, however, received a severe set-back after the death of Chenghīz Khān who was poisoned in 1574.

Left with no other choice, he served petty warring parties and later joined Bijapur, but he did not remain with the Ādil Shāhīs for long. He then joined the service of Abhang Khān, an Abyssinian noble, who was opposing Chānd Bībī's nominee, Bahādur Nizām Shāh, by putting forward another contender to the throne. In Abhang Khān's service Ambar became the commander of 150 horsemen.

Soon, however, Ambar began to act independently. The prevailing chaos in the Nizāmshāhī

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1 J. N. Chaudhuri, *Malik Amber*, Calcutta, N. D.
J. N. Sarkar, *The House of Sivaji*, Calcutta 1948.

State helped him to rise to power and he became a thorn in the side of the Mughals. Posing as the champion of the Nizāmshāhī dynasty he put Shāh Alī, under the title of Murtazā Shāh Nizām-ul-Mulk, on the throne in 1600 A.D. and became his Prime Minister as *Vakil-us-Sultanat* (Regent of the Kingdom). To further consolidate his power, he married his daughter to Murtazā Shāh. For many years he held the Mughals at bay. He transferred the Nizāmshāhī capital to Khirki (later on Aurangabad) and beautified it with splendid buildings. According to the *Ma'athir Rahīmī*[1] it was not only the best city in the Deccan, but the like of it was not found even in Hindustan. He spent much of his time in warfare and died in May 1626 at the age of nearly eighty. All the might of the Mughal power never succeeded in subduing him though more than once he faced defeat. This great general lies buried at Amrapur, a village thirty-two miles north-east of Ahmadnagar Fort.

Ambar in Arabic means a rich perfume. It is well known that the Emperor Jahāngīr disliked *this* 'perfume', but as observed by Bhīmsen, author of the *Nuskh-i-Dilkash*, even when the Malik was dead his sweet fragrance remained behind.[2] Mirzā Muhammad Hādī, who continued the Memoirs of Jahāngīr does justice to Ambar's memory in these words :

Ambar, whether as a commander or strategist was without an equal in military art. He kept the rabble of that country (the Deccan) in perfect order and to the end of his days lived in honour. There is no record elsewhere in history of an African slave attaining to such a position as was held by him.

Even as late as the 19th century the historian Grant Duff observes that the Malik's memory was still preserved in the legends of his country.

Malik Ambar was a man of rare genius and undaunted courage who carved out the path of greatness for himself all alone. In mediaeval Indian history he was one of the greatest personalities who by his unfailing resourcefulness preserved the dignity of the State he served. He never accepted defeat, and fought till the end of his days to maintain his independence. He was not only a master of guerilla tactics, but also a great soldier in open warfare. As a politician he possessed sound judgment and he knew well that the Mughal aggression, south of the Narbada, could be stopped only by judicious alliances between the different powers of the Deccan. He was also a great statesman and a wise administrator. He put down with an iron hand the forces of lawlessness and devised an excellent revenue system known as *Malik Ambar Dhāra*, which became the basis of all future revenue systems in the Deccan. He won the love of his subjects by justice and impartiality. Throughout his rule there was complete religious tolera-

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1 *Ma'athir Rahīmī*, Vol. 2, p. 527.
2 J. N. Chaudhuri, *Malik Ambar*, p. 132.

tion and Hindus were appointed to high offices of state. He fully realised the value of the light Maratha mounted forces and trained them in a method of warfare which later on helped to uproot Mughal power from the Deccan.

Unfortunately, the Persian sources throw very little light on the personality of Malik Ambar. But a Dutchman, Van den Broecke, who had seen him personally, described him thus: *'this Habessy from the land of Pieter Jan'* was a tall person, *'with a terrific Roman appearance, having white, ghelaesde* (?) *eyes'* and dark complexion.[1]

Another Dutchman, Pieter Gillis Van Ravesteyn, also saw Malik Ambar in person. He describes him as :

'a well built man of life and suffering, of more than normal height and dark as blackmoor'.[2]

Van Ravesteyn was very much impressed by the personality of Malik Ambar. The above information about the personality of Malik Ambar is, as we shall presently note, of great importance in settling once for all the doubts which have hitherto prevailed with regard to the identification of his portraits. We are grateful to Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, Bombay, for drawing our attention to Wadekar's article on the Dutch sources.

After the death of Malik Ambar he was succeeded in the Wazirship by his son Azīz-ul-Mulk (Fath Khān) an extremely haughty, incompetent and bloodthirsty man. Fath Khān was married to the daughter of an influential Bijapur nobleman named Yāqūt Khān. Murtazā Nizām Shāh was thoroughly disgusted with Fath Khān and dismissed him from the Wazirship and threw him into prison in Daulatabad in 1630. But the troublous state of affairs forced Nizām Shāh to release Fath Khān in 1631 and restore him to his office. At this time Murtazā was seized with insanity. Fath Khān brought him to his own home for treatment, but the King died in 1632 and Fath Khān was universally suspected of having poisoned him.

With the death of Nizām Shāh the decline of the Nizāmshāhī kingdom reached its last stage. Fath Khān set up on the throne Husain III, son of the murdered King, a boy of seven, but the provincial governors refused to obey him. Fath Khān disappears from the political scene, and so also the house of Malik Āmbar, when in 1633 Fath Khān surrendered the fort of Ahmadnagar to the Mughals.

Malik Ambar was a great administrator, strategist and builder. Van Ravesteyn states that excellent justice was maintained in his regime and he was honoured by everyone. Unfortunately, history is silent about his patronage of arts and painting. There is, however, enough material

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1 R. D. Wadekar, 'Malik Ambar from Dutch Sources', *Bhārat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (March-June, 1920), p. 9.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

to show that, in common with Bijapur and Golconda, Ahmadnagar in the closing years of the 16th century enjoyed a distinctive school of portrait painting marked by its virile draughtsmanship and strong colour-tones. It can easily be distinguished from the art of portrait painting under Akbar and the Emperor Jahāngīr in the North.

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his *Portfolio of Indian Art*, 1923, Pl. LXXXIX, has reproduced in colour a portrait as being of Malik Ambar. The figure is that of a tall black impressive Abyssinian of powerful physique and having a prominent hooked Roman nose and thick protruding lips (Pl. III, Fig. 1). A long sword rests at the elbow and he holds an indistinct object in his left hand which may be a small dagger. He wears a compact turban of white muslin, a white *jāmah* reaching well below the calves, red trousers, yellow shoes, a white *dupaṭṭā* crossed over the chest with its ends fluttering in the air, and a golden *kamarband* (waist-sash), decorated with geometrical patterns, tied in two folds, to which a dagger and a writing case are attached. The colour scheme is simple against a background of sepia. The portrait exudes the powerful personality of the Malik, and if we compare it with the description left by the Dutchman Van den Broecke, there can be little doubt that the portrait represents Malik Ambar with his black skin and '*terrific Roman appearance*' which obviously refers to his prominent hooked nose. The name 'Malik Ambar' is written on the modern mount of this portrait.

Coomaraswamy, however, changed his opinion as to the identification of this portrait as that of Malik Ambar, and in his *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Boston Museum*, Pt. VI, 1930, p. 49, he suggested that this portrait (which is reproduced in monochrome therein) may well be identified as that of Malik Ambar's son Fath Khān. He disregarded the inscription 'Malik Ambar' because it appeared on a modern mount. In the same catalogue he published another miniature,[1] also of an Abyssinian, and stated[2] that the personage depicted therein was Malik Ambar. The much worn out Persian inscription on this portrait he deciphered as follows :

Shabīh . . . va Zindā . . . . a . . . . . .

and suggested that the reconstructed reading might be '*picture of the (puissant) and great (Malik Ambar)*.[3] The Abyssinian in this second miniature is not a tall man (Pl. III, Fig. 3). He has a pronounced paunch and thick lips. He wears a long muslin *jāmah* reaching to the ankles, a *dupaṭṭa* crossed over the chest, small compact white turban, trousers, shoes, and a buckled belt to which two writing cases or pouches are attached. He holds a long sword in the right hand. Coomaraswamy states that this portrait bears a sufficient resemblance to a much later portrait

[1] *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Boston Museum*, Pt. VI, 1930, Pl. 37, Fig. LXXVII.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[3] *Ibid.*

PLATE B. Contemporary portrait of the great Abyssinian Peshwa, Malik Ambar. Deccani school of Ahmadnagar. 1600-1605 A.D. Same size. National Museum, New Delhi. Formerly in collection of the Udaipur Darbar.

of Ambar in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin. No reason is given for the assumption that the Berlin portrait does depict Malik Ambar.

Now the very individual whom Coomaraswamy suggests is Malik Ambar (on the basis of his reconstructed reading of the worn out inscription) is seen in a miniature in the Louvre, painted by Mīr Hāshim (Pl. III, Fig. 2). Stchoukine in his *La Peinture Indienne*, Paris 1929, Pl. 29, has published the Louvre portrait describing this stout Abyssinian with a paunch as Malik Ambar; and again in his *Miniatures Indienne du Musee du Louvre*, Paris 1929, pp. 31-32, he retains the same identification. In the Louvre portrait the figure faces to the right, the head being in three-quarter profile while the feet are joined together. He holds a long sword in his left hand and with the right he has slightly pulled up a part of the *jāmah*. He wears a small white turban of Deccani type, white flowered *kamarband*, blue trousers and red shoes. To the narrow buckled belt is attached a writing case over which are tucked the ends of the *kamarband*. Stchoukine does not state on what grounds he identifies the Louvre portrait of the Abyssinian with a paunch (Pl. III, Fig. 2) as being that of Malik Ambar.

Coomaraswamy's only reasons for identifying this self-same Abyssinian in the Botson Museum version (Pl. III, Fig. 3) as Malik Ambar, and the tall Abyssinian in Pl. III, Fig. 1, as Fath Khān, are his reconstructed reading of the much worn out inscription on Pl. III, Fig. 3, and the fact that he regards the individual in Pl. III, Fig. 3, as being more elderly than the individual in Pl. III, Fig. 1. He accordingly assumes that the younger man (Pl. III, Fig. 1) must be Fath Khān. But neither of these two reasons is acceptable. The worn out inscription on Pl. III, Fig. 3, really defies any satisfactory reading, and Coomaraswamy's opinion that the individual in Pl. III, Fig. 1, is a younger man than the individual in Pl. III, Fig. 3, is erroneous. If one examines the two portraits carefully, it becomes apparent that the tall Abyssinian in Pl. III, Fig. 1, is far from being young and in fact appears to be older than the stout Abyssinian in Pl. III, Fig. 3.

Subsequently in 1935 Stchoukine published another miniature by Mīr Hāshim as being a portrait of Malik Ambar Habshe (*Revue des Arts Asiaqitues*, Vol. 9, Dec. 1935, p. 198, Pl. LXVIII, Fig. 5). This portrait is from the Rothschild collection (Pl. III, Fig. 4). No reason is given by Stchoukine for his identification of the Abyssinian in this miniature with Malik Ambar. It is not even stated if there is any inscription on the miniature or its mount. It would appear that the person in the Rothschild miniature (Pl. III, Fig. 4) is different from the individual in Pl. III, Figs. 2 and 3, and consequently it is somewhat puzzling how Stchoukine, who stated in 1929 that Pl. III, Fig. 2, is Malik Ambar, comes to state in 1935 that Pl. III, Fig. 4, is also Malik Ambar.

Fortunately there exists evidence to show that both Coomaraswamy and Stchoukine have erred in thinking that the stout Abyssinian with the paunch in the Louvre and Boston Museum

miniatures (Pl. III, Figs. 2 and 3) is Malik Ambar, and that Stchoukine is also in error in regarding the Rothschild miniature (Plate III, Fig. 4) as Malik Ambar. In fact, it is the tall Abyssinian (Pl. III, Fig. 1) who is Malik Ambar, and Coomaraswamy's first identification of Pl. III, Fig. 1, before he changed his view in 1930, is correct.

This evidence is supplied by a portrait in the National Museum (Plate B) of the self-same tall Abyssinian, seen in the Boston Museum miniature (Pl. III, Fig. 1). Plate B of the National Museum is almost a duplicate of the miniature reproduced by Coomaraswamy, first as Malik Ambar and then as Fath Khān (Pl. III, Fig. 1), except for the colour scheme and minor differences in the treatment of the costume. They are almost certainly from the same sketch or pounce. The figure in Plate B stands against a violet background wearing a striped turban, white *dupaṭṭā* whose fluttering ends are not so ample as in the Boston Museum portrait, white straight edged *jāmah* lacking the curves seen in the Boston Museum portrait, red flowered trousers, saffron slippers and golden *kamarband* with geometrical patterns edged with floral meander on the borders. The sword, the dagger and the knife are in the same position as in the Boston portrait. The green writing-case or pouch is attached to the red belt. Now Plate B has, on the reverse, a neat Persian inscription which reads '*Malik Ambar*'. The inscription appears to be a contemporary one and there is no reason to doubt its correctness. There is also a Hindi inscription which reads '*Malik Ambar*' written on the reverse of the lower strip pasted to the miniature to form a border. There are four strips pasted to the miniature to form a border round the picture. As the Hindi inscription is on one of the strips it is obviously not contemporary as the strips have been pasted on at a later date. But this circumstance somewhat strengthens our belief that the Persian inscription, which is on the reverse of the miniature itself (and not on any of the strips), is authentic. Probably some later owner of the painting had the Persian inscription read and added the name '*Malik Ambar*' in Hindi on the lower strip. But the authenticity of the identification of Plate B, as a portrait of Malik Ambar, does not rest only on the Persian inscription. It is clear from Van den Broecke's description of Malik Ambar that the personage in Plate B and in the Boston Museum portrait (Pl. III, Fig. 1) is none other than the great Abyssinian Peshwa of Ahmadnagar. The '*terrific Roman appearance*', i.e. the great hooked nose, is the dominant characteristic of the face in Pl. B and Pl. III, Fig. 1. This '*terrific Roman appearance*' is entirely absent in the Louvre and Boston Museum portraits of the stout Abyssinian with a big paunch (Pl. III, Figs. 2 and 3) or in the Rothschild portrait (Pl. III, Fig. 4). Moreover the personage in Pl. B and Pl. III, Fig. 1, accords in every other respect with Van den Broecke's description of Malik Ambar. He is tall, dark as blackmoor and with *ghelaesde* (glassy?) stare. The stout Abyssinian of the Louvre and Boston Museum portraits (Pl. III, Figs. 2 and 3) is of course black in colour, but he is not tall

nor has he that 'impressive' personality which so struck Van Ravesteyn when he saw Malik Ambar. The same observation applies to the Rothschild portrait (Pl. III, Fig. 4). Thus the Dutchmen's descriptions of Malik Ambar, in conjunction with the Persian inscription on the reverse of Plate B, can leave no reasonable doubt that Plate B and Pl. III, Fig. 1, are portraits of Malik Ambar. Coomaraswamy's later identification of Pl. III, Fig. 3, as being Malik Ambar, as well as Stchoukine's similar identification of Pl. III, Fig. 2, are both incorrect. So also Stchoukine's identification of the Rothschild miniature (Pl. III, Fig. 4) as Malik Ambar cannot be accepted.

Both the portraits of Malik Ambar (Pl. B and Pl. III, Fig. 1) are splendid examples of the early Deccani school of Ahmadnagar which not unnaturally has many similarities to the early Deccani school of Bijapur under that great patron of arts, Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II. Both these portraits appear to be by the same artist and it may be that they were painted by Mīr Hāshim who was the painter of Louvre portrait of the stout Abyssinian with the paunch (Pl. III, Fig. 2), and also of the Rothschild portrait (Pl. III, Fig. 4). Mīr Hāshim appears to have been a Deccani painter before he went to the Mughal court where he became one of the notable artists of the atelier of the Jahāngīr-Shāh Jahān period. At the Mughal court, Mīr Hāshim did not continue to paint in his earlier typical Deccani idiom. The early Deccani idiom of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar is quite distinct from the contemporary Mughal school. There is Turkish influence[1] though the Persian influence is also present. A local flavour was also introduced in some early Deccani work and this local flavour appears to have been derived from Vijayanagar either before or after the destruction of that mighty Empire in 1565 A.D. That the Bijapur Sultans had artists from Turkey at their court is well known to students of Ferishta.[2]

Malik Ambar's portraits (Pl. B and Pl. III, Fig. 1) are characterizations of the highest order. Though they lack the meticulous brush work and detail of Mughal portraiture, they have a breadth of vision and majesty, not often seen in Mughal portraiture. The commanding figure and towering personality of the great Abyssinian Peshwa is revealed more eloquently by the brush than words could ever have done.

Coomaraswamy[3] has dated the portrait of Malik Ambar to 1617 A.D. and later on between 1620-1630 A.D.[4] As we have already seen, the Malik was born in *circa* 1549 and died at an advanced age in 1626. In the portraits, Pl. B and Pl. III, Fig. 1, the Malik appears to be a middle aged man of about fifty-five and therefore these portraits could be dated between 1600-1605. This

1 Karl Khandalavala, 'Five Miniatures in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir,' *Marg*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 26-28.
2 Ferishta, *History of the Rise of Muhammadan Power in India.*
3 Coomaraswamy, *Portfolio of Indian Art*, Pl. 89.
4 Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Boston Museum*, Pt. VI, p. 49.

Fig. 2. Perhaps Abhang Khān, an Abyssinian general. Painted by Mīr Hāshim. Wrongly identified by Stchoukine as Malik Ambar. Deccani school of Ahmadnagar. Late 16th or early 17th century A.D. The Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 1. Malik Ambar. Wrongly identified by Coomaraswamy as Fath Khān, son of Malik Ambar. Deccani school of Ahmadnagar. 1600-1605 A.D. Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

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Fig. 3. Perhaps Abhang Khān, an Abyssinian general. Wrongly identified by Coomaraswamy as Malik Ambar. Deccani school of Ahmadnagar. Late 16th or early 17th century A.D. Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

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Fig. 4. An Abyssinian. Painted by Mīr Hāshīm. Wrongly identified by Stchoukine as Malik Ambar. Deccani school of Ahmadnagar. Late 16th or early 17th century Maurice Rothschild collection, Paris.

Fig. 1. Detail of the Bāhubalī image showing the ovoid face and the treatment of the hair. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 2. Back view of the Bāhubalī image showing the curls in high relief. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 3. Bāhubalī from Jain caves, Ellora. Rāshṭrakūṭa sculpture. 9th century A.D.

Fig. 4. Bāhubalī from Jain caves, Ellora. Rāshṭrakūṭa sculpture. 9th century A.D.

view finds further support from the fact that these portraits are in pure Deccani style with none of the Mughal influence which really affected Deccani painting only after 1610 A.D.
With regard to the two portraits of the stout Abyssinian with a paunch (Pl. III, Figs. 2 and 3), it may be that they are studies of another well known Abyssinian general, Abhang Khān, under whom Malik Ambar, in his earlier days, had taken service. The worn out inscription on the Boston Museum Miniature (Pl. III, Fig. 3) has the name obliterated and only the letter 'a' could be read by Coomaraswamy, who thought it must be the 'a' of 'Ambar'. But it could just as well be the 'a' of 'Abhang Khan' because the words before 'a' cannot be made out. These two portraits (Pl. III, Figs. 2 and 3) are also in the typical early Deccani style of the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century. With regard to the identity of the Rothschild portrait (Pl. III, Fig. 4), nothing definite can be surmised. There were several Abyssinian nobles at the Deccani courts.
There remains to consider the question whether the portraits (Pl. B and Pl. III, Fig. 1), which we have identified as Malik Ambar, could be portraits of Malik Ambar's son, Fath Khān, as suggested by Coomaraswamy.[1] We are not aware of any descriptions of Fath Khān, but the Persian inscription on the reverse of Pl. B distinctly reads '*Malik Ambar*' and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. If Pl. B is not Malik Ambar but Fath Khān, then is it not a strange coincidence that the name appearing on the modern mount of the Boston Museum portrait (Pl. III, Fig. 1), should also be '*Malik Ambar*'? It is probable that the name '*Malik Ambar*' was written on the reverse of the Boston Museum portrait (Pl. III, Fig. 1), or on its old mount, and when the miniature was remounted the name must have been copied on to the new mount. It was not an uncommon practice when remounting a miniature to copy the name appearing on the old mount on to the new mount. Moreover in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, a 17th century drawing of an Abyssinian noble bears a Persian inscription that it is Fath Khān son of Malik Ambar. If this description is authentic, as it appears to be, then Pl. B and Pl. III, Fig. 1, are clearly not portraits of Fath Khān. The portrait (Pl. B) was presented to the National Museum by the late Maharana of Udaipur. It is not known when it came into the Udaipur collection.

Facsimile of Persian inscription on the reverse of Plate B (p. 27).
It reads 'Malik Ambar'.

[1] Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Boston Museum*, Pt. VI, p. 49.

4. *A UNIQUE METAL IMAGE OF BĀHUBALĪ*

THE recent acquisition by the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, of a metal image of Bāhubalī (Frontispiece and Pl. IV, Figs. 1 and 2) has aroused very considerable interest amongst scholars and connoisseurs in India and abroad. Metal images of Bāhubalī are not uncommon,[1] but no example as early as the 9th century, to which period this image probably belongs, has so far come to light.

The image is 20 inches high. The metal has a rich brown colour with patination here and there. It is either an excavated image or one which was lying forgotten and neglected for years and years in some cell or corner of a *bastī*. An attempt was probably made to clean it after it was found. The pedestal is missing. The 'stays', joining the palms of the hands to the thighs (to ensure strength while casting), are still to be seen. Normally they would be filed away during the 'finishing' process, but for some unknown reason this has not been done in the present case. In all other respects, however, the image is well 'finished'. The *sthapati* who cast the image may have died before completing his work or he may have decided to let the 'stays' remain in order to lessen any possibility of damage to the long hanging hands.

The image was found at Śravaṇabelagolā, that stronghold of Jainism in the Mysore country. It is said to have been discovered under the *cella* of a broken down old Jain *bastī* when some digging was in progress to remove the debris of the dilapidated structure.

There is no reason, in our opinion, to doubt this information. We were actively concerned in the acquisition of this image for the Museum and felt that the information obtained was reliable.

That it is a splendid image, belonging to the category of the finest South Indian bronzes, need hardly be stressed. The images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, which exist in their thousands, have rightly been subjected to the criticism of being vacant and mechanical; but there are a number of exceptions such as the early Jaina metal images from Chausa in the Patna Museum;[2] the Gupta period Tīrthaṅkaras of Mathura;[3] the early specimens from the fine Akoṭā hoard of metal images;[4] and the great Gommaṭeśvara of the Vindhyagiri hill at Śravaṇabelagolā. These instances could be multiplied. The Bāhubalī of the Prince of Wales Museum not only has a

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1 There is one example in the British Museum. A late example is reproduced in T. N. Ramachandran, *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, Madras 1934 (Bulletin of the Madras Government Musuem), Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 1. There is also a modern example in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in miniature size about 4 ins.

2 Some of these may even belong to the transition period between Kushāna and Gupta sculpture.

3 V. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, Allahabad 1901.

4 U. P. Shah, 'Ancient Sculptures from Gujerat and Saurashtra', Fig. 10, *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. 8, 1952; and 'Age of Digambara and Svetambara Images', Figs. 15 and 16, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, No. 1, 1950-51. The hoard is at present in the Baroda Museum.

countenance of great serenity and feeling, but its plastic qualities, as seen in its proportions, balance and modelling, are of a high order. This is but to be expected, having regard to the period to which it belongs. The creeper entwining the legs and arms has never been treated so perfectly in any other Bāhubalī image known to us either of metal or stone. The workmanship of the image is on a par with that of the known examples of Pallava metal sculpture and, as we shall presently see, it appears to have been influenced by Pallava metal images.

The provenance of this image may tentatively be regarded as the ancient Gaṅgavādi. The fact that it was found at Śravaṇabelagolā, which is situate in the ancient Gaṅgavādi, is not without significance, though not conclusive of its provenance. At the same time it must be remembered that of all the dynasties of South India it was the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavādi who were the greatest patrons of the Jaina faith, and Bāhubalī was regarded by them as their *kuladeva*. Of course the possibility of the image having been cast by a *sthapati* outside the Gaṅga country and being brought and installed in Śravaṇabelagolā does exist. The reasons for countenancing this possibility are twofold :

(1) The stylistic characteristics of a simple naked image are necessarily limited in number, and such as exist in this image are compatible, wholly or partly, with the 9th century sculptures of the Chāḷukyas, the Pallavas, the Gaṅgas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The art of the last named dynasty was influenced not only by the art of the Vākāṭakas but also by the art of the Western Chāḷukyas of Badami whom they humbled.

(2) No metal images which we can confidently assign to the Gaṅgas (up to the end of the 9th century) are known. So also none confidently assignable to Chāḷukyas or Rāshṭrakūṭas up to the end of the 9th century are known, but the existence of Pallava metal images, at least from the 8th century onwards, has been established.[1] However, the mere fact that metal images of the Chāḷukyas, Rāshṭrakūṭas and Gaṅgas (at any rate up to the end of the 9th century) have not been discovered would not justify the conclusion that these schools of sculpture never worked in metal. At the same time, the absence of early metal images in these schools cannot be quite ignored. The truth may even be that a Pallava *sthapati* migrated to the Gaṅga country and cast this image for a Jaina patron. The earliest Jaina *bastīs* of Kambadahalli, which is a village only about twelve miles from Śravaṇabelagolā, have distinct Pallava affinities and are not likely to be later than the 9th century. Builders from the Pallava country may have come

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1 Gravely and C. Sivaramamurti, *Guide to Archaeological Galleries*, Madras Museum, 1939; and *Indian Sculpture (Mostly Southern)*, Madras Museum, 1939.
Karl Khandalavala, 'Masterpieces in South Indian and Nepalese Bronzes', *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4.

to construct them, or alternatively, the Pallava style of architecture (including sculpture), which made itself felt in many parts of the South, also found favour in the Gaṅga country.

It must be conceded, however, that the find-spot and the popularity of Bāhubalī in the Gaṅgavādi would lend some support to those who may be inclined to regard this image as the first example, so far brought to light, of the art of the metal sculptor in the Gaṅgavādi up to the 9th century. C. Sivaramamurti, the learned Keeper of the National Museum, who saw the image and discussed it with us, was inclined to the view that it was an example of Chāḷukyan sculpture. The changing fortunes in the constant warfare of the Chāḷukyas, Pallavas, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Gaṅgas and Nolambas during the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries[1] were bound to lead to an interchange of architectural and sculptural ideas and motifs. So also, *sthapatis* and master-masons from the Chāḷukya or Pallava kingdoms, for instance, were surely employed at times by the Gaṅgas, and *vice versa.*

To fix the provenance of a single image of its kind, and this too of such a simple character as the Bāhubalī in question, is necessarily a speculative task. In favour of Sivaramamurti's view, that it is probably an example of Chāḷukyan sculpture, we must draw attention to the seated Jina of the Hyderabad Museum, now displayed in the National Museum, New Delhi. It is reproduced in G. Yazdani, *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Pt. VIII (Fine Arts), 1952, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. (a). It is Chāḷukyan, probably 10th century. There is a distinct facial resemblance to our image, including the treatment of the neck and hair. The modelling of the body, however, is more suave, and the image as a whole lacks that strength and feeling of massiveness which the earlier Prince of Wales Museum image possesses.

The Jaina metal images of the Saurashṭra-Gujarat-Rajputana area, such as the Mahudi bronzes in the Baroda Museum ; the Valā bronzes in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ; the Akoṭā hoard in the Baroda Museum ; or the Vasantagaḍh hoard of Piṇḍavāḍā, etc., can give us no assistance in fixing the provenance of the Bāhubalī image. They belong to quite a different school and tradition. So also no assistance can be derived from Pāla metal images, or the Sirpur images of the Nagpur Museum, or the Chausa images in solving the problem of provenance. Nor can any of these above mentioned groups of metal images, whether Jaina or not, afford assistance with regard to the date of the Bāhubalī image. But the question of its date presents no great difficulties.

We have come to the conclusion that the most likely date for the Bāhubalī bronze is the 9th

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[1] A. S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, Poona 1936.
D. C. Ganguly, *The Eastern Chalukyas*, Banaras 1937.

century. Sivaramamurti came independently to the same conclusion. In arriving at a 9th century dating we have taken the following factors into consideration :

(1) Apart from the fact that the image is that of a Jaina saint, it has several marked characteristics of the later Pallava group of Brahamanical South Indian metal images and stone sculpture, and is closest to them in appearance, technique and feeling. These characteristics are :

(*a*) Long, ovoid face, yet of sufficient breadth from cheek to cheek to create a visual impression of fullness.

(*b*) The curled ringlets of hair and the stem and leaves of the creeper are in massive high relief, standing out prominently against the body. This is always the manner in which the *upavīta*, the ornamentation and the hair are treated in Pallava and early Choḷa bronzes, particularly in those of large size like the Bāhubalī image.

(*c*) The roll on the stomach is also similar to that seen in many Pallava sculptures.

(*d*) The modelling, naturalistic shape and slight looseness of the torso (including the roll on the stomach) are similar to that seen in Pallava sculpture. For example, compare with the Vishāpaharaṇa bronze of the Madras Museum and the Sūrya from Kaveripakkam (Gravely and Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture* (*Mostly Southern*), Madras 1939, Pls. XXX and XXIX) and the Vishṇu of the Madras Museum (Gravely and Sivaramamurti, *Guide to the Archaeological Galleries*, Madras 1939, Pl. 2). In Choḷa and other South Indian sculpture of the 10th century the shape of the torso is a little more exaggerated and its modelling becomes markedly tighter than in the 9th century.

(*e*) The image is carefully finished at the back with the curls in the same high relief as seen in front (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). This is seen in Pallava metal images though, of course, it is also seen in Choḷa metal sculpture.

Though we do not lay stress on any 'sixth sense' in dating sculpture or painting, nevertheless the 'feeling' given by the image, to one familiar with South Indian bronzes, is that it is the creation of a Pallava *sthapati*, or in the alternative, of a Gaṅga or Chāḷukyan *sthapati* who was versed in the same technical principles and possessed the same approach to plastic art as the Pallava guilds. The Pallava sculptures to which Bāhubalī has affinities are mostly of the 9th century, though some examples such as the Vishāpaharaṇa referred to above are earlier. But the Bāhubalī image, with its slightly prominent breasts, somewhat sharper nose and heavy shoulders must be referred to a period later than the Vishāpaharaṇa bronze which probably belongs to the 8th century.

(2) In discussing the question of the date of the image, it is of great interest to study the late 8th century Pallava-Pandya Pārśvanātha sculpture at Kalugumalai, with its long ovoid face, heavy shoulders and torso with slightly prominent breasts (S. Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, 1955.

Pl. 95). Its affinity to the Bāhubalī bronze is apparent and tends to confirm the 9th century date suggested by us. So also the Hyderabad Museum Chāḷukyan Jina of the 10th century, referred to above, supports our 9th century dating of Bāhubalī as it is somewhat later than the Bāhubalī bronze, but could not be removed from it by more than fifty to seventy-five years.

(3) If we effect comparisons between the Bāhubalī bronze and the 9th century Rāshṭrakūṭa images of Bāhubalī at Ellora (Pl. IV, Figs. 3 and 4), we find much greater affinity between them than between the bronze and the Western Chāḷukyan Bāhubalī image in the Jaina cave of Badami, of probably the late 7th century (Rambach and Golish, *The Golden Age of Indian Art*, 1955, Pl. 34). The Badami image is modelled in an entirely different manner, particularly the stomach, where the roll is absent. Also, no attempt is made to indicate the knees. The face is round and not long and ovoid, and the lines of the hair are straight and not curved as in the bronze. The strands of hair falling over the shoulders are absolutely plain, unlike the curled ringlets of the bronze, while the severely plain creeper is devoid of all the leaves and tendrils seen in the bronze.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa images of Bāhubalī in the Jaina caves at Ellora belong, in all probability, to the reign of Amoghavarsha (814-880), who had pronounced leanings towards Jainism. The palaeography of the inscriptions in these Jaina caves would also lend some support to the 9th century dating of the Bāhubalī images at Ellora.

As stated above, the Bāhubalī bronze has much greater affinity to the Ellora images than to the Badami image of Bāhubalī. The main points of difference between the Bāhubalī bronze and the Ellora images lie in the face and the creeper. The Ellora images do not possess the long ovoid face, so characteristic of the Pallava period, and also to be seen in the Chāḷukyan Jina of the Hyderabad Museum. With regard to the creeper at Ellora it no doubt entwines the body of Bāhubalī in a manner different from that seen in the bronze, but what is important to note is that the creepers at Ellora, as also creeper in the bronze, have leaves and tendrils, whereas the creeper at Badami has no leaves or tendrils—indicating its earlier date. The leaves and tendrils at Ellora are seen spreading out on the sides of the image, while in the bronze they have necessarily to be on the image itself.

Hence it would appear that the stylistic features of the Ellora images go to support a 9th century dating for the Bāhubalī bronze, though at the same time their facial treatment indicates that the bronze is not a creation of Rāshṭrakūṭa sculptors. Though the Gaṅgas had to admit defeat in the 8th century by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, yet on the death of the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler, Govinda III, the Gaṅga king, Muttarasa, declared his independence and Amoghavarsha had to follow a policy of conciliation and he married his daughter Chandrobelabbā to the Gaṅga crown

prince Būtuga. Thus in the 9th century the Gaṅga glory had to some extent revived. But even during defeat, cultural activities in the warring kingdoms of India never came to a standstill as is often erroneously supposed.

(4) Lastly, with regard to the date of the Bāhubalī bronze, the Gommaṭeśvara of Śravaṇabelgolā may be considered. Its date is generally regarded as being 983 A.D., and it was caused to be made by the Gaṅga general, Chāmuṇḍarāya. Despite its undeniable appeal it is clear, when the statue is analysed, that by 983 A.D. marked stylization had set in. This can be seen in the squarish face, the curled hair, the arched eyebrows, the curved lips, the ringed nipples, the cut on the stomach, the pointed chin and the schematic rigid treatment of the entwining creeper and leaves. The bronze Bāhubalī is removed considerably more than a hundred years from such stylization, and therefore cannot be later than the 9th century. The reasons why we think that it is not earlier have already been stated, but one cannot be dogmatic in these matters and assert that an 8th century date is quite out of question. It would be difficult, however, to countenance any date earlier than the 8th century.

Note :

An article on this Bāhubalī image by Dr. U. P. Shah appeared in *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin No. IV*. The 7th century dating suggested by Dr. Shah does not appeal to us and we feel that stylistically the bronze is far removed from the Bāhubalī of Badami which Dr. Shah refers to in support of his early dating.

5 *AN ANIRUDDHA-USHĀ SERIES FROM CHAMBĀ AND THE PAINTER RĀM LĀL*

In the National Museum, New Delhi, there are twenty-one paintings from an *Aniruddha-Ushā* series which formerly belonged to the Chambā Darbar. They were presented to the Museum and it is believed that they were painted in Chambā. The ascription of their provenance to Chambā appears to be correct. That Rāj Singh of Chambā (1764-1790) maintained an atelier of very competent painters has been fully established by the known contemporary portrait studies of this Raja, one of the finest of which is in the Louvre (Stchoukine, *La Miniatures Indienne de La Musee de Louvre*, 1929, Plate 20), while a splendid Darbar scene presented by Shām Singh (1873-1904) to the traveller Von Ujfalvy is now not traceable (*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3, Pl. 4). Though we have no definite evidence of painting in Chambā during the reign of Rāj Singh's predecessor, Udai Singh (1748-1764), there is reason to believe that the art of miniature painting was practised in Chambā during his reign. It is well to remember that *circa* 1739 is an important date in the history of Pahārī painting. Nādir Shah's invasion of Northern

India took place in that year and then followed the numerous incursions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī which only ended with his 10th invasion in 1769 A.D. The unsettled conditions in North India led to the migration of many merchants, artisans and artists to various Hill States. In fact, in Jammu, during Ranjīt Dev's reign (1735-1781), there was a little colony of refugee Mughal aristocrats, bankers, merchants and artisans, who were all welcome. Amongst them was the famous Mughlāni Begam, widow of Mīr Mannū, the Viceroy of the Punjab, who died in 1753 A.D. Till *circa* 1739 A.D. the norm in Pahārī painting was the *Basohlī Kalam* and its many local idioms. But thereafter, due to the influx of artists and their families from the capital cities of the plains of Northern India, another mode of miniature painting came into vogue in the Hills. These refugee artists were all trained in the Mughal school of the first half of the 18th century and their manner of painting soon became popular at many Hill courts. The natural beauty of the Hill scenery and the difference in environment proved to be powerful factors in giving the new movement an individuality of its own. It displayed a freshness and vitality which was wanting in the Mughal school of the Muhammad Shāh period (1720-1748). This new movement lasted till *circa* 1770 and is known as the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase of Pahārī painting. The *Kāngrā Kalam* proper, is the logical outcome of this 'pre-Kāngrā' style. 'Pre-Kāngrā' painting was not confined to any one State. There is ample evidence to show that it flourished all over the Hills.

One of the most notable of these refugee artist families was that of Pandit Seu (Souhae or Sahāi) a Misra Brahman who was obviously trained in the Mughal school of the first half of the 18th century. The family settled at Jasrotā as is apparent from the fact that one of Pandit Seu's sons, namely Nainsukh, who worked at the Jammu court of Balvant Singh, describes himself in a miniature in the Lahore Museum (of Balvant Singh at a music party) as 'Nainsukh of Jasrotā.'[1] This miniature was painted in 1748. The members of this family played a big role in the development of Pahārī painting. Their portraits are in the Lahore Museum (Nos. D-115 to D-122). One member of the family, maybe Pandit Seu himself, was in the employ of a Jasrotā *Miān* (nobleman) named Mukund Dev.[2] Pandit Seu had two sons, namely Mānak and Nainsukh, the latter

[1] It is apparent to one conversant with Indian customs that Nainsukh at the very time when he was in the employ of Balvant Singh of Jammu would not describe himself as 'Nainsukh of Jasrotā' unless Pandit Seu with his family had settled in Jasrotā. Randhawa in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, states that Nainsukh belonged to Guler without producing any evidence in support of this statement and without considering the conclusive character of the Lahore Museum inscription which completely militates against Nainsukh's family having settled in Guler.

[2] W. G. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig. 40, which depicts Mukund Dev riding in the open country accompanied by his musicians and retinue. Archer ascribes the miniature to the artists of Balvant Singh of Jammu but it is unlikely that this type of *plein air* study would be painted outside the Miān's own territory. Moreover, the fact that Nainsukh came from Jasrotā suggests that the family settled there because it received patronage from Jasrotā Chiefs or *Miāns*.

PLATE C. Ushā awaking from her dream, surrounded by her maidens. Early *Kāngrā Kalam* in Chambā. 1770-1775 A.D. Probably painted by the artist Rām Sahāi. Size 8½ x 6 inches. From an Aniruddha-Ushā series in the National Museum, New Delhi. Formerly in the collection of the Chambā Darbar.

being the younger of the two brothers.[1] It is not known where Mānak went but it is not unlikely that he first took service under Govardhan Chand of Guler (1745-1773).[2] Nainsukh, the younger brother, became one of the principal artists in the atelier of Balvant Singh of Jammu and several miniatures painted for his patron bear his name.[3] Mānak's son, Kausala, is almost certainly the same as Kushan Lāl who, according to the tradition at the Lambāgrāon Darbar, became the favourite artist of the famous Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. The Lambāgrāon Rajas are closely related to Sansār Chand. Unfortunately no painting which bears Kushan Lāl's name has so far come to light. Whether Mānak at any time joined Sansār Chand's atelier is not known, but there is some reason to think that both father and son were working for the Katoch overlord between 1790 and 1805. A miniature depicting the game of 'Blindman's Buff' in the collection of the Tehri-Garhwāl Darbar bears an ascription *Mānak kī likhī* — 'painted by Mānak'. This miniature, along with the *Gīta Govinda* and *Bihāri Lāl* sets from the same collection, was almost certainly part of the dowry given by Aniruddha, son of Sansār Chand, to Sudershan Shah of Garhwāl when this Garhwāli prince was married to Aniruddha's two sisters.[4] Having regard to this fact it is possible that the Mānak of 'Blindman's Buff' is Mānak, son of Pandit Seu, and that he along with his son Kausala (Kushan Lāl) took service under Sansār Chand round about 1785-1790. Mānak would have been an old man at the time, and on his death Kushan Lāl may have become the chief artist of Sansār Chand's atelier. Nainsukh's sons, Gauhā (Gur Sahāi) and Nikkā, are said to have taken service under Prakāsh Chand of Guler (1773-1790 A.D.)[5] and they are probably the painters of several fine miniatures of the Prakāsh Chand period[6] in the

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1 This fact is clear from the inscription on Mānak's portrait in the Lahore Museum where it is stated *'Seu de putra vaḍā Mānak, chhotā Nainsukh'*. S. N. Gupta in his *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Lahore Museum*, p. 65, wrongly describes Nainsukh as the second son of Mānak. In fact they were brothers.

2 These dates are more acceptable than those given by Hutchinson and Vogel in their *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 1933, where Govardhan Chand's regnal years are stated to be 1730-1760. Govardhan Chand's predecessor, Dalip Singh, was still ruling at Guler in 1745 when the famous Mughal governor, Adīnā Beg Khān, made his march through the Hill States. The revised edition in 1940 of Lepel Griffin and Massy, *Families of Note in the Punjab*, gives 1773 as the year of Govardhan Chand's death. That appears to be correct.

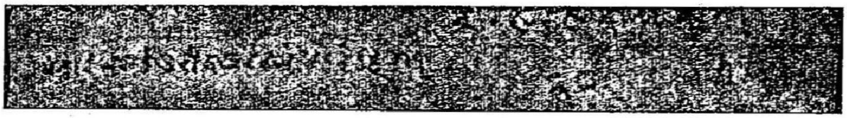
3 There is a portrait of Balvant Singh in the National Museum, New Delhi, bearing an inscription which states that it was painted by Nainsukh.

4 W. G. Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, 1954, pp. 5 and 24 accepts this theory propounded by Rai Krishnadasa and Karl Khandalavala that these two sets have nothing to do with the Garhwāl idiom and came from Sansār Chand's atelier.

5 This was the tradition amongst the living Guler artists in the early years of this century when the Amritsar dealer, the late Rādhā Krishna Bharany, visited Haripur.

6 This collection is now mostly in the Punjab Government Museum at Simla. Several examples from this collection appear in colour in M. S. Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955. Nikkā had a son named Gur Sahāi, who must not be confused with the elder Gur Sahāi (Gauhā) who was a much finer artist than his nephew. Pl. 23 in Randhawa's *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, is said to have been painted by Gur Sahāi (*March of India*, Vol. 6, No. 4, March-April, 1954). This must be the younger Gur Sahāi as the painting is of no great merit and belongs to the reign of Bhoop Singh (1790-1826). But Pls. 18, 19 and 26 which are far superior are likely to be the work of the elder Gur Sahāi (Gauhā) and his brother Nikkā. The magnificent portrait study of Govardhan Chand, Pl. I, may be the work of Mānak himself assuming we are right in thinking that Mānak first went to Govardhan Chand's court.

Guler Darbar collection. Of Nainsukh's eldest son, Kāma, we know nothing, and till recently his fourth son, Rām Lāl, was also only a name. In the N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay, we came across an early *Kāngrā Kalam* painting having many characteristics of the late 'pre-Kāngrā' manner. It is a study of Rāj Singh of Chambā (1764-1795), as a young boy, watching a dance performance (Pl. V, Fig. 3). Rāj Singh is about 15 years of age in this study and as he came to the throne in 1764, at the age of seven, the miniature must have been painted in *circa* 1772. It is one of the earliest miniatures in which the *Standard*[1] female type of the *Kāngrā Kalam* appears. On the upper margin is an inscription '*Mahārājā Rāj Singh*' and on the reverse there are two inscriptions: (a) *Rājā Rāj Singh Chhamiya* = 'Rājā Rāj Singh Chambiāl'. The clan name of the Chambā house is 'Chambiāl'. (b) *Maṇḍī Rām Sahāi dī bhejadā dāma 46 rupiya* = '(obtained) for Mandī (Darbar) from Rām Sahāi who sent it at the price of rupees forty-six'.



The inscription puts it beyond doubt that the portrait is that of Rāj Singh of Chambā. Moreover, a comparison of the features of the young Rāj Singh (particularly his characteristic nose) with his features when he was grown up, will confirm the inscription.

But the most interesting part of these inscriptions is the reference to Rām Sahāi who, having regard to the name, the date of the portrait and its style is obviously none other than Rām Lāl, son of Pandit Seu (Souhae or Sahāi). Souhae or Sahāi was the family name and hence Rām Lāl is referred to as Rām Sahāi. This portrait study of Rāj Singh discloses the manner of Nainsukh, who was Rām Sahāi's father, and under whom he obviously served his apprenticeship. We know that Nainsukh was working at the court of Balvant Singh of Jammu in *circa* 1750 and that he was about 30 years of age at the time.[2] Accordingly Nainsukh was born in *circa* 1720, and in normal course would have been married before he was twenty, that is to say before 1740. Rām was the youngest of his four sons and we find him working for Rāj Singh in *circa* 1770-1772. Assuming that Rām was about twenty years old in 1772 then his birth date

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1 The *Standard* type has the nose almost in line with the forehead, narrow stylized eyes, the chin somewhat sharp, no modelling of the face and the hair painted as a flat black mass of colour without any shading. This type is seen only from *circa* 1770 onwards.

2 In the Jalan collection, Patna, is a miniature *circa* 1750 (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 36) of Balvant Singh examining a painting and behind him is Nainsukh who appears to be about thirty. That the artist is Nainsukh can be verified from Nainsukh's inscribed portrait in *Rupam*, No. 37.

would be *circa* 1752. Thus between *circa* 1740 and *circa* 1752, a period of 12 years, all of Nainsukh's four sons were born, a circumstance which is quite normal. If Rām was gifted, as he obviously was, then it is not surprising to find him highly proficient in the art of painting even at the early age of twenty.

Pl. V, Fig. 3, must be a copy of the original painting made for Rāj Singh himself. It was a common practice for several copies of a painting to be made from one and the same sketch or pounce. The fact that the Mandī Darbar sought to acquire the painting (Pl. V, Fig. 3), is easily understood because it was common practice for Hill Chiefs to obtain portraits of rulers of other States. Sansār Chand's collection had many such portraits. Whether Pl. V, Fig. 3 was acquired from Rām Lāl during Rāj Singh's lifetime or after his death, it is not possible to say. The price paid for it, namely Rs. 46—quite a large sum of money in those days,—indicates the status of the painter.

Pl. V, Fig. 3, has many features of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting ; but the face of the dancer indicates that it belongs to a period when the *Kāngrā Kalam* had evolved from the 'pre-Kāngrā' style and was developing its own characteristic facial types.

Our experience of Pahārī art has taught us that it is not safe, merely on stylistic grounds, to attribute a particular miniature to a particular painter. Bearing this caution in mind we tentatively venture to suggest that some of the miniatures in the *Aniruddha-Ushā* series of the National Museum are from the brush of Rām Lāl. We would draw particular attention to Pl. C. There is a very strong resemblance between the dancing girl in Pl. V, Fig. 3, and Ushā in Pl. C. Though both conform to a stylized type, and though one is standing and the other seated, yet the treatment in each case is similar. Both possess similar delicacy of line and similar grace of form which seem to indicate the same artist. In each case we observe a characteristic which was later to become a feature of Chambā painting, namely the excessive length of the body from the neck to the feet. Facially, the dancer and Ushā are almost identical. One also notes that the emphasis which Rām Lāl has given to the very sensitively drawn hands and fingers of the dancer is again repeated in the equally sensitive hands and fingers of Ushā and her maidens. In both miniatures the effect of night-time is brought about by a deep blue sky against which dark green trees are sillhouetted. When we turn the Plate V, Fig. 1, which also appears to be by Rām Lāl, we find that the black-bearded shield-bearer on the extreme left behind Raja Janmejaya is none other than the black-bearded servitor behind Rāj Singh in Pl. V, Fig 3. Rām Lāl apparently utilized his sketch of this servitor while illustrating the *Aniruddha-Ushā* story. This was a common practice with Pahārī painters. In the matter of colouring also we note that when any of the colours seen in Rāj Singh's portrait study (Pl. V, Fig. 3) are used in Pl. C or Pl. V,

Figs. 1 and 2, then the tone of that colour is almost identical in both cases. The rich red carpet in Rāj Singh's portrait study, dominating the entire foreground, is a device used in Pl. V, Fig. 1, for an identical effect. The tones of the grey walls are similar and the architectural treatment is similar. While not wishing to stress any particular point of identity, taken by itself, the resemblance in a number of significant details between Rāj Singh's portrait study on the one hand and Plate C and Pl. V, Fig. 1, on the other, embolden us to put forth the suggestion that some of the miniatures in the *Aniruddha-Ushā* series are by Rām Lāl. But we ourselves desire to strike a note of caution against dogmatic assertions in the matter of attributions based entirely on stylistic comparisons and on the fact that all these paintings belong to Chambā. There need be no doubt that Rāj Singh's portrait study (Pl. V, Fig. 3) was painted in Chambā itself. Any assumption that it was done in Jammu or Guler ignores the fact that a complicated study of this kind, as opposed to solo portraits, is not likely to have been painted outside the State of the ruler depicted therein. It is a grave fallacy to suggest that the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase was limited to Balvant Singh's atelier at Jammu and to Govardhan Chand's atelier at Guler. There is no warrant for confining the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase to Jammu and Guler. It became the style all over the Hills when refugee artists from the plains took service at various Hill courts from 1739 onwards. It is an equally grave fallacy to assume that Guler was the birth-place of the *Kāngrā Kalam*.[1] The *Kāngrā Kalam* was the logical development of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase all over the Hills. What is overlooked is that members of one and the same family, painting in the same style, spread out and took service at different courts and it is this circumstance that accounts for similarities in style often observed between paintings hailing from different States. Members of Pandit Seu's family taking service at Jammu, Guler, Jasrotā, Chambā and Kāngrā is an instance in point.

The *Aniruddha-Ushā* series is not complete. Each miniature is surrounded by a plain blue border on a pink-flecked mount. The miniatures are all approximately 8½ x 6 inches while the mounts are uniform, namely 10½ x 7¼ inches. On the reverse of each mount is written a description of the incident depicted from the story. The language is Punjabi.

All the miniatures are not of the same high quality as Pl. C and Plate V, Figs. 1 and 2. This circumstance would indicate that more than one artist was engaged on painting the series, and if we are right in thinking that Rām Lāl is the painter of Pl. C and Pl. V, Figs. 1 and 2 then he was undoubtedly the most competent of the artists who painted the twenty-one existing miniatures. Pl. C is the most attractive of these twenty-one paintings and is representative

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1 M. S. Randhawa, 'Guler the birth-place of Kāngrā Painting', *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4.

of the early *Kāngrā Kalam* at its best. Pl. C depicts Ushā awaking from her dream, while Pl. V, Fig. 1, illustrates the sage Vaiśampāyana relating to Raja Janmejaya the story of Aniruddha and Ushā. Pl. V, Fig. 2, which is damaged, illustrates the Demon-king Bāṇa in his harem drinking wine.

The artist Rām Lāl, son of Nainsukh, who painted the portrait of Rāj Singh of Chambā (Pl. V, Fig. 3) and probably painted some of the miniatures of the *Aniruddha-Ushā* series (Pl. C and Pl. V, Figs. 1 & 2).

6. *A PĀLĀ BRONZE HEAD FROM NALANDA*

In the National Museum, New Delhi, there is a remarkable bronze head of a Tārā from Nalanda (Pl. VI, Figs. 1 and 2). The rest of the image is missing. Being an excavated piece it is somewhat corroded but at the same time it has acquired an attractive patination which partly remains after cleaning. There is a school of thought which believes in cleaning excavated images to the extent of restoring them, as far as possible, to their original state. The adherents of this practice rightly contend that the image when cast never possessed the patination which it has acquired by reason of being buried underground for centuries. At the same time there is no gainsaying the fact that the patination which remains after judicious cleaning gives to a metal image a mellow beauty that not only emphasizes its antiquity but has an indefinable charm of its own. Some museums go in for intense cleaning, while most private collectors, we note, attach great importance to patination and are horrified at the thought of removing the beautiful red, blue and green patina which excavated images commonly possess. In the interests of accuracy, intense cleaning may be justified, provided one can be sure that the resultant colour will be that which the image possessed when cast. One could even support this view if accuracy was the only objective to be borne in mind. But that is not so. The

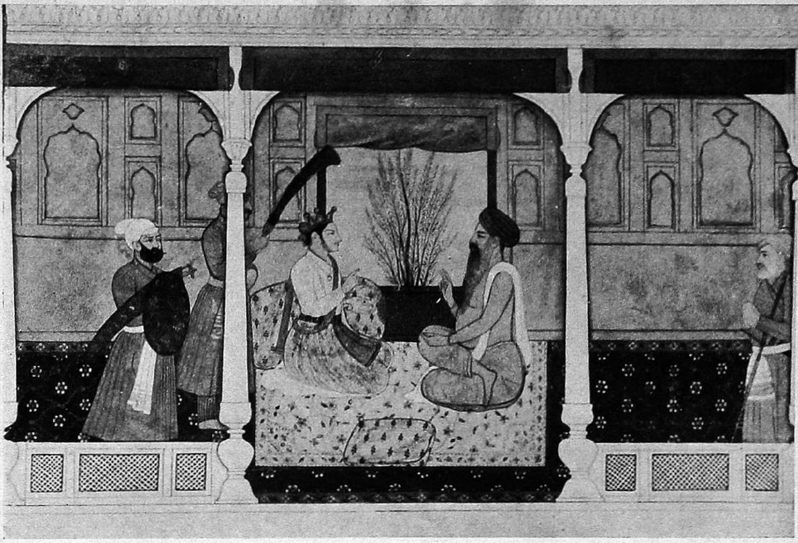

Fig. 1. The sage Vaiśampāyana relating to Raja Janmejaya the story of Aniruddha and Ushā. *Kāngrā Kalam.* Painted in Chambā. 1770-1775 A.D. Same series as Plate C. National Museum, New Delhi.

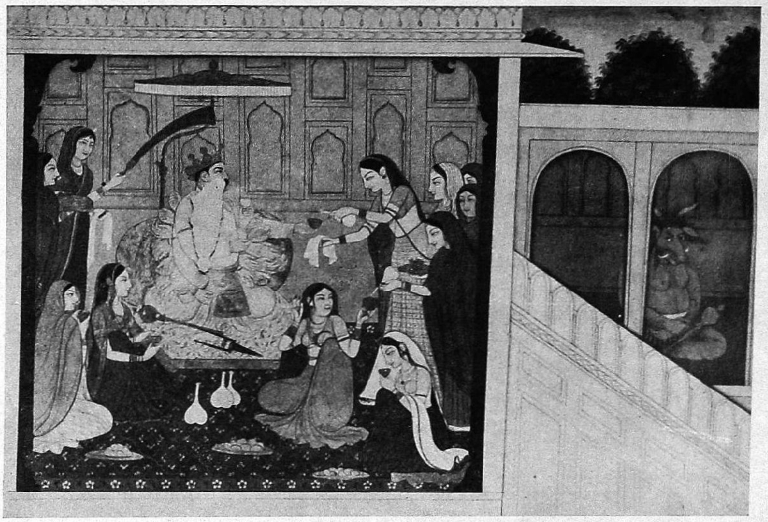

Fig. 2. The Demon-king Bāṇa in his harem drinking wine. Same series as Plate C and Fig. 1 above.

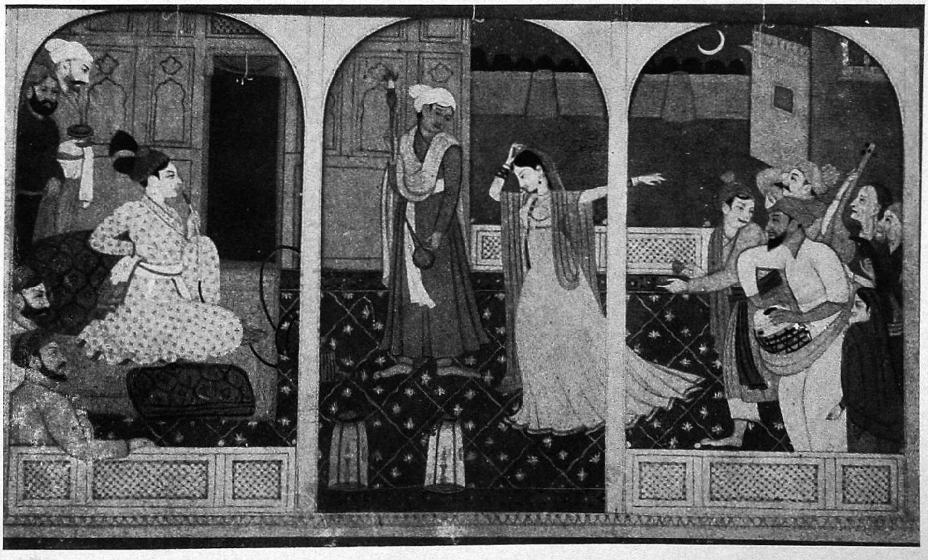

Fig. 3. Rāj Singh of Chambā at a dance party. Painted by the artist Rām Lāl, *circa* 1772 A.D. N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay. From *Pahārī Miniature Painting* by Karl Khandalavala.

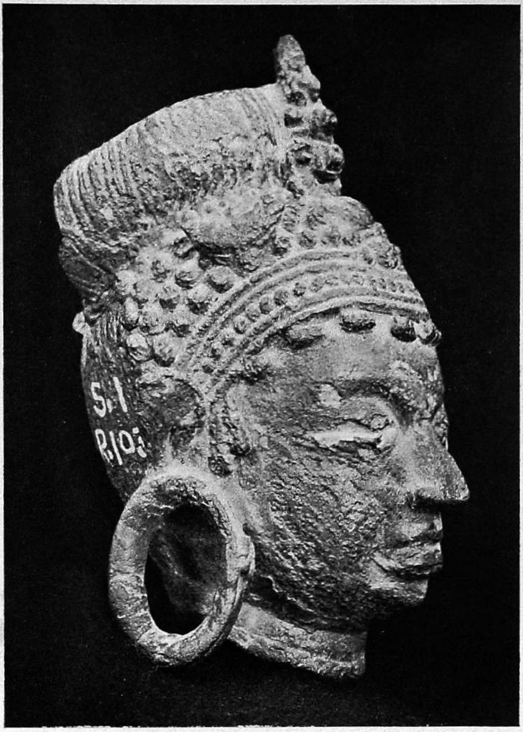

Fig. 1. Profile of Fig. 2.

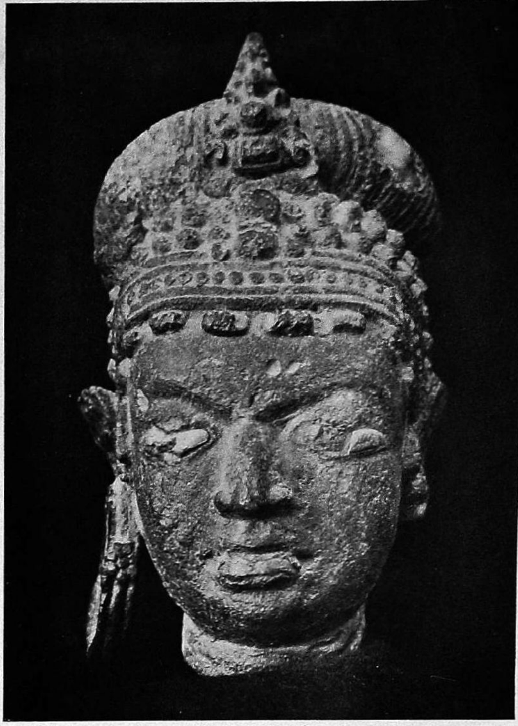

Fig. 2. Head of a bronze Tārā from Nalanda. Probably pre-Devapāla period. 8th century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi.

Fig. 3. Head of Jambhala from Nalanda. Devapāla period. Note the prominent nose. National Museum, New Delhi.

Fig. 4. Head of Hārītī image from Nalanda. Devapāla period. Note the broad face and the heavy lips. National Museum, New Delhi.

problem, whether to retain patination or not, is often a problem of aesthetics. There is much to be said for the point of view which advocates the retention of patination. That nicely patinated images possess an undeniable attraction must be conceded. In the case of genuine patination there is no deliberate falsifying of values. Patination is the result of circumstances which we are bound to take note of, and consequently the effect of these circumstances can legitimately be allowed to remain particularly when it is so pleasing to the eye. We have always held the view that heavily corroded images must be cleaned to reveal their true form, but at the same time the attractive red, green and blue patination, which covers the surface skin, should not be removed to any great extent. Judicious cleaning is an art in which many museum curators and chemists are very deficient.

The head cannot be later than the period of Devapāla (810-850 A.D.) and is likely to be earlier. Much work requires to be done on the dating of Pālā images, but in truth it is not so difficult a task as the dating of South Indian bronzes. The dates of museum labels for Pālā metal images have no consistency and are often wide of the mark. The most thoughtful contribution so far on the dates of Pālā metal images is that of Stella Kramrisch in her editorial note to Jayaswal's article on the Kurkihar finds in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 2, No. 2. A feature often seen in images of the Devapāla period is the tendency towards a somewhat sharply projecting nose as seen for instance in the image of Jambhala (Pl. VI, Fig. 3), which is a wellknown example of the reign of Devapāla. This type of nose is also seen in our Tārā. Other characteristics which also go to suggest the early Devapāla or pre-Devapāla period for our image are the full heavy lips with lower one protruding, the treatment of the coiffure and the rounded cheeks and chin (compare with Pl. VI, Fig. 4, which is a detail from a Hārīti image bearing an inscription of the reign of Devapāla). But our Tārā's intensity of expression is more in keeping with the pre-Devapāla group than with the images of the reign of Devapāla. The eyes are inlaid with silver, a common practice during this period.

There has been a tendency to indiscriminately attribute most of the early Pālā images to the 9th century. What is overlooked is the fact that after the Gupta period there was again an outburst of activity amongst certain followers of the Buddhist faith who sought to revive Buddhism by making beautiful metal images. This activity, which is mentioned in the *Manjusri Mūlakalpa*, can be ascribed to the 8th century i. e. the pre-Devapāla period. Several Devapāla period images, such as the wellknown Balarāma metal images (*Journal of the Indian Society of Ancient Art*, Vol. 2, No. 2), already display certain stylised features which indicate that the 8th century revival, referred to above, must have been of considerable duration.

AN ILLUSTRATED HINDI MANUSCRIPT OF ŚAKUNTALĀ DATED 1789 A.D.

ADRIS BANERJI

KĀLIDĀSA happens to be one of those poets for whom posterity has always maintained a warm corner in its heart. Like the continuity of pictorial tradition — the continuity of literary tradition, notwithstanding the cataclysms that India has suffered, may indeed be regarded as little short of a miracle. The sonorous quality of the poet's compositions, his lyricism, his evident romanticism, and the psychological intensity of his productions expressed in simple Sanskrit as opposed to the verbose, academic and breath-taking writings of Bhavabhūtī, attracted even Goethe. Two of his greatest admirers in the 20th century were Dr. Tagore and Aravinda Ghosh. Curiously enough his works failed to inspire the mediaeval ateliers, since very few miniatures illustrating his masterpieces are available. The artists of Kāngrā seem to have painted a few, now in the collection of Sri N. C. Mehta.[1] The National Museum has a couple of leaves containing text and illustrations of *Kumārasaṁbhavaṁ*. A *Kumārasaṁbhavaṁ* painting of a Hill School has also been noticed by Prof. Stella Kramrisch.[2] It is difficult to imagine the causes why the pangs of the *yaksha*, so lyrically described in *Meghadūtaṁ*, the glories of Raghu's dynasty as found in *Raghuvaṁśaṁ*, the impassioned *Kumārasaṁbhavaṁ*, the romance of *Mālavikā and Agnimitra*, the *Śakuntalā*, and the *Ṛitusaṁhāra* all failed to receive attention from mediaeval painters.

There is, however, one manuscript, originally in the possession of Raja Pratap Rao Singh Bhonsle of Nagpur, which is of unique interest due to its illustrations. It is a Hindi version of *Śakuntalā* by a poet named Niwāza, and fortunately it is dated. It had gone to London for the Exhibition of the Arts of India and Pakistan, where it was described as Rajasthani about 1800 A.D., which *prima facie* is an error probably *lapsus memoriae*. In fact on the last page the date is expressed as follows:

Magha māse śukla pakshe tithau purṇimāyaṁ saṁvat 1845.

Thus the actual year comes to 1788 A.D.

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[1] These are late 19th century illustrations of *Śakuntalā*. There is also a *Kāngrā Kalam* illustration of the *Meghadūtam* in the Lahore Museum, No. J-35. I am indebted for this information to Sri K. Khandalavala.

[2] *Art of India*, London 1954, Fig. 26.

It contains 49 leaves and 21 miniatures each measuring 7½" x 4¼". In some of the miniatures, one side of the folio contains a flowering-shrub motif. Each page measures 9¼" x 5¾" and the writing space occupies an area of 7½" x 4½" within rectangular borders (Pl. VIII, Fig. 6). It is, however, in the miniatures, their composition, style, dress, furniture, ornaments (both male and female), fauna and transport that our main interest lies, as they are suggestive of a new school of painting, due to admixture of two well-known schools —the Rajasthani and the Deccani.

The kernel of *Śakuntalā* is to be found in the *Mahābhāratam*. Briefly speaking, it originates in Viśvāmitra's efforts to become a *Brahmarśī*. Menakā, an *apsarā*, is sent down to stop his powerful austerities and Viśvāmitra falls an easy victim to the blandishments of Menakā. Out of this mis-adventure was born Śakuntalā, named thus, because an eagle was watching after the castaway, when her parents had deserted her. Kaṇva, the famous sage, found her and reared her up in his hermitage. When grown to full womanhood, she attracted the attention of Dushyanta of Puru's family and a morganatic marriage took place. The truant royal lover forgot everything on his return to his palace. Nature, however, gives a son to Śakuntalā — he is named Sarvadamana. Ultimately, the reunion takes place. Over this nucleus, the genius of Kālidāsa has added embellishments, and with his lyrical quality, character-sketching and psychological intensity, it has become one of the greatest dramas of the world. Our artist has selected all these psychological moments to illustrate the manuscript of Niwāza.

(1) The first miniature has been divided into two panels with monochrome background. The whole design is bound by a blue line, inside which is a red line; next is a thick gold line followed by a border of wider breadth with meandering creeper and flowers and leaves painted on a blue background. Again there is a gold line. The upper and lower border has a frieze of creeper between them. In the upper panel is the figure of a four-armed Gaṇeśa seated on a lotus with lamps on sides. In the lower panel we find Nārāyaṇa and Lakshmī seated. Outside is the figure of a man standing with folded hands under a palm tree.

(2) The second miniature shows the prolegomena of the romance which the practical Anusūyā related to the king. We find the sage Viśvāmitra seated in a forest. Since he is *rājarśī* his seat is embroidered with gold thread, but he is wearing *kaupina* and has brown matted locks falling behind his back, and his face is over-grown with a moustache and beard. Above him is a conventionalised tree. *Ṛishī* Viśvāmitra is holding a flower. His left hand shows a *mudrā*. He is surrounded by flowering shrubs and a palm tree painted on the picture space by 'conceptual representation' or 'parallel plane representation'. The *apsarā* Menakā stands

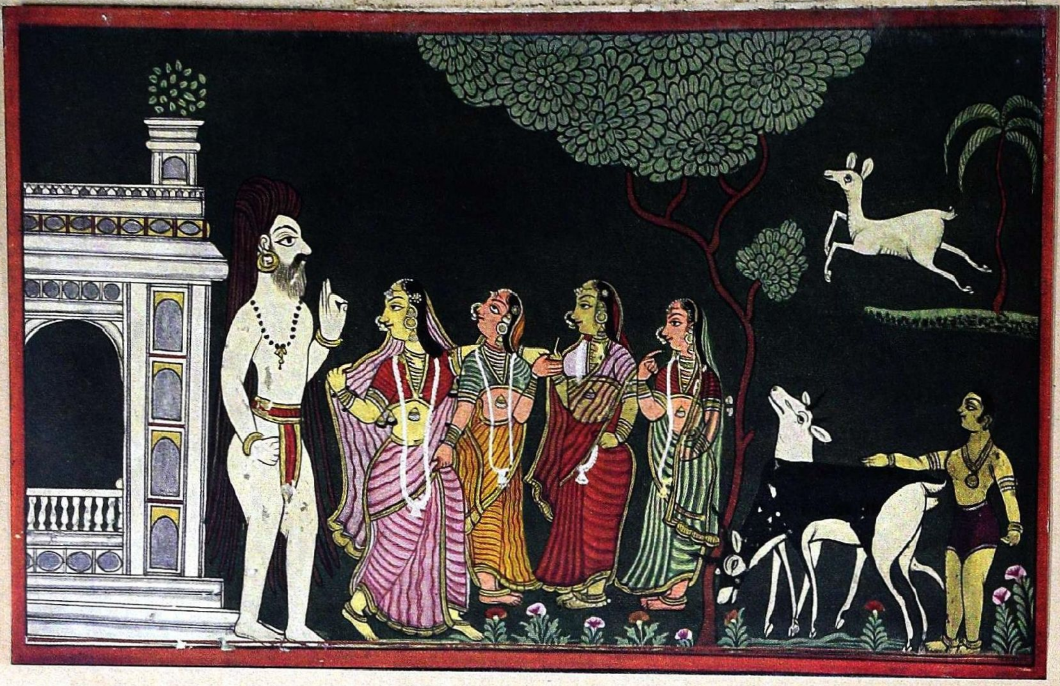

PLATE D. Ṛishi Kaṇva with Śakuntalā, Priyamvadā and Anusuyā. Illustration to Ms. of *Śakuntalā* dated 1789 A.D. National Museum, New Delhi.

at a distance, a resplendent figure in brocades, gold and jewellery, holding a *vīṇā*. On all sides and behind her stretch wild-flower trees, cypresses and a large tree with blossoms.

(3) & (4) Plant with blossoming flowers.

(5) Pl. VIII, Fig. 4. The miniature shows sage Kaṇva taking up the baby discarded by Viśvāmitra and Menakā. Kaṇva wears *kaupina*, has black matted locks and is white in colour. In the background on a tree(?) sits the eagle — from which Śakuntalā derived her name — which had flown away on the approach of Kaṇva. Within the picture space are palm trees, etc., the landscape being treated in 'terraced form' similar to Chinese and Persian paintings.

(6) Miniature showing the first meeting of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā. Śakuntalā engaged in watering plants with her friends Anusuyā and Priyaṁvadā amidst usual floral themes or motifs representing the *āśrama* garden (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

(7) Plant with blossoming flowers.

(8) Plant with blossoming flowers.

(9) Miniature depicting a romantic scene between Dushyanta and Śakuntalā seated on a gold worked carpet. Anusuyā and Priyaṁvadā are standing behind some bushes.

(10) Miniature with mauve background with Śakuntalā seated in *viraha*, oblivious of the visit of the choleric sage Durvāsā, who cursed Śakuntalā, that the very person whose thoughts made her forget her responsibilities to guests, would not be able to recognise her — an incident cleverly introduced by Kālidāsa to clear the truant prince who deliberately did not recognise her, when she called at the palace as is related in the *Mahābhāratam*. Śakuntalā too, lost the signet ring given to her by her royal spouse, whose recovery restored the king's memory as promised by Durvāsā to Anusuyā. The girl who is seen bowing is probably Anusuyā while Priyaṁvadā stands at a distance with folded hands (Pl. VII, Fig. 1).

(11) Floral motif. Pl. VIII, Fig. 7.

(12) Miniature depicting *Ṛishi* Kaṇva standing before a pavilion (probably his cottage ?) with right hand in *mudrā*, wearing red *kaupina* with gold borders. In front are Śakuntalā, Priyaṁvadā, Anusuyā, etc., a deer (*āśrama-mṛiga*) and a black buck (*Kṛishṇasāra*), below a huge tree with Sarvadamana (son of Śakuntalā) patting it on the back (Pl. D).

(13) Miniature of Dushyanta seated in the palace unable to recognise Śakuntalā, her *sakhīs* and Sarvadamana his son.

(14) Floral motif.

(15) Miniature showing Dushyanta, evidently having recovered his memory, prostrate on the ground and Śakuntalā standing.

(16) Floral motif.

(17) Floral motif.

(18) Miniature showing the final farewell of Śakuntalā after reunion. *Ṛishi* Kaṇva is seated. Before him stands Śakuntalā with a *sakhi* and Dushyanta with Sarvadamana on his arms.

(19) Floral motif.

(20) Miniature showing Dushyanta, Śakuntalā and Sarvadamana going in a chariot to the capital (Pl. VII, Fig. 3).

(21) Miniature showing Dushyanta, Śakuntalā and Sarvadamana in royal garden (Pl. VIII, Fig. 5).

These few miniatures illustrating a dated Ms. of Śakuntalā are interesting for several reasons. Their style, technique and portraiture have certain characteristics and features which make it certain that we are dealing with a new school. The possession by the Bhonsles does not necessarily imply that the work was of a Nagpur artist, attached to the court of Bhonsles ; and it has no history behind it. Nevertheless, the costumes, the backgrounds, the motifs, the flora and fauna, as well as an analysis of content and style establish certain interesting conclusions.

The painter of the illustrations was fond of primary colours: such as gold, yellow, different shades of red and brown, green, black, white, mauve and ermine. The backgrounds are uniformly monochrome. In the treatment of human figures, we find the face is generally oval and full and slightly disproportionate to the body. The sages have matted *jaṭā*, either black or brown ; long beard with moustaches. The only other male figures, Dushyanta and the charioteer, have moustaches only, the cheeks being clean shaven.

The male costume is of two types. First loin cloth (*dhotī*) worn by Gaṇeśa, Nārāyaṇa and the devotee. Viśvāmitra wears a *kaupina* of red cloth with gold borders. Same is the case with Kaṇva. The second type is worn by Dushyanta, which consists of long *chāpkān* of brocade, *kamarband*, and Deccani type of turban with a flower at the side and loop at the back. He wears pearl necklace and earrings, with a *katahr* at the waist. Sarvadamana wears a *kāchh*. The dyed and gold embroidered brocades and *sārīs* furnish interesting evidence of the conditions and quality of textile manufacture in the latter part of the 18th century A.D. Flowers, rosettes, *chauphulias* are the principal patterns on the textiles.

Women invariably wear typical Deccani female costumes : *cholī* and *sakachcha sārī* passing over the chest and head and falling at the back. Their ornaments consist of *śismāg*, earrings, nose rings, armlets, necklaces, bangles, anklets, finger rings and hair pins with round discs of gold surrounded by pearls. Two interesting survivals from 17th century tradition are noteworthy features. First there is a bare space between the *choli* and waist line. This may be due to custom which survived even thirty years ago in Maharashtra. The women irrespective of class

wore short *cholīs* leaving bare a portion of the torso up to the waist. The second feature is the attachment of pompoms to ornaments.

The architectural features are few. The subject itself imposed this restraint. In a couple of instances in which civic architecture occurs, the structures are found to be well-built, neatly drawn, having a white surface. Arabesques and cartouches occur in the cornices — the shadows being indicated by shading in grey. The structures are sometimes provided with canopies supported by wooden posts.

Deer, black buck, horses and an eagle are the only fauna that occur. The flora is extremely conventionalized but inspired by Rajasthani paintings, possibly Malwa or Bundelkhand. The species that occur are miscellaneous flower plants ; twigs with leaves on either side like *gul mohur* and *śirisha* trees and *ber*. The tops of trees have no outline; they cluster into lumps and their arrangement and forms create rhythmically rounded silhouettes.

The only transport shown is a chariot drawn by a pair of horses and driven by a charioteer. It has a domical roof like the Banaras *ekkas*. Four persons could easily sit in it. In front is a canopy for the driver. A wooden projection fixed below the seats remains between the horses. There were four wheels, each of which has 12 spokes with knobs between them both on the ring and the axle just as we find on the *dhammachakka* of Aśoka on the Sarnath Capital.

Raja Pratap Rao Bhonsle, as his surname suggests, is a scion of the Bhonsle House of Nagpur. It was derived from their original habitat, the village of Bhonsle in the Bombay State. The same village from which ancestors of Shahaji, father of *Chhatrapati* Shivaji, migrated, and they posed as agnates of the Maratha royal houses of Kolhapur and Satara. They were upholders of the legitimate line and resented the usurpation by Brahmin Peshwas.[1] They derived their revenue claims from the House of Shivaji. This explains the reasons of seemingly disloyal acts and treacherous conduct to the head of the Maratha confederacy which have been misunderstood by early historians. They were compelled to recognise the *de facto* sovereigns but took advantage of every discomfiture of the hated house. Raghuji, a grandson of Madhoji Patel, a *siladār* of Shivaji, was the real founder of Bhonsle greatness. It was he who annexed Orissa. Raghuji was succeeded by his son Janoji — in whose reign the third battle of Panipat took place. Janoji, in order to succeed against the intrigues of his brother Mudhoji, sought the arbitration of the Poona Durbar, and later on by the Treaty of 1769, acknowledged the Peshwa as his overlord. He died at Tuljapur in 1772 leaving no male issue. The *gādi* was filled by Mudhoji's son, Raghuji. During the minority of his son, Mudhoji ruled as regent. The regent died in 1788, the very

1 *Marathi Riyasat, Madhya Bibhag,* Vol. II, p. 6.

year that the illustrated Ms. under consideration was completed. Mudhoji was a great diplomat, a successful administrator, both moderate and wise. He had probably an atelier at his court in which the *Śakuntalā* miniatures might have been painted.

The style of these paintings now requires to be determined. The glories of the Vijayanagara Empire went out in shame and disaster. But its charred and devastated ruins performed a miracle. It nationalised Muslim painting in the Deccan. This proud heritage of the culture complex and artistic traditions of Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar, was continued by the Asaf Jahī dynasty of Hyderabad. What is more, there was a resurrection due to the decomposition and disintegration of the Mughal Empire. This transformation was based upon an assimilation of Rajasthani and Mughal, an elimination of the third rate and redundant, and finally a synthetic production of something entirely new. The Deccani style was not a close knit, homogeneous and integrated style except in the territories dominated by Muslims. There were late schools at Poona, Mysore, Tanjore and Ramesvaram. The Maratha style was broad-based upon the Rajasthani school because Peshwa Baji Rao I introduced Rajasthani artists in the Poona court.

Our historical retrospect shows that though internally hostile, the Bhonsles of Nagpur could not ignore the Peshwa completely. Whenever the succession to the throne of Nagpur was disputed they had to run to Poona to secure their charter of *de jure* overlordship. One Bhonsle in alliance with the Nizam had sacked Poona. The recalcitrant peer was rebuked by Peshwa Madhav Rao. Therefore, the possibility exists of the manuscript having been painted at Poona. The evidence that invalidates this presumption is the language, which is Hindi, certainly not cultivated in the South. The probability therefore lies in favour of either Rajasthan or Nagpur. The analysis of the style reveals a new atelier.

Factors to consider are: monochrome backgrounds, love of primary colours, the face disproportionate to the body. The male and female costumes and treatment of the flora, which is very conventional, particularly the representation of palm trees by curved lines often in vermilion, recall to our mind the Deccani tradition. In some respects the Ms. shares the peculiarities of the *Udyogaparvan* (last decade of the 17th century) in the National Museum, New Delhi. But the differences are also great. They are seen in the treatment of beards and hair as well as costumes and head-dresses. While the *Udyogaparvan* has Muslim head-dresses this Ms. has typically Maratha ones (*Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. VIII).

The spatial relations are ingenuous. The picture plane is universally two dimensional and the struggle of mankind has been to endeavour to create a tri-dimensional effect. To create this he invented many illusionistic methods such as spacing, fore-shortening and perspective.

Fig. 1. The visit of the choleric sage Durvāsā. Illustrated Hindi Ms. of *Śakuntalā* dated 1789 A.D.

Fig. 2. First meeting of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā. Illustrated Hindi Ms. of *Śakuntalā* dated 1789 A.D.

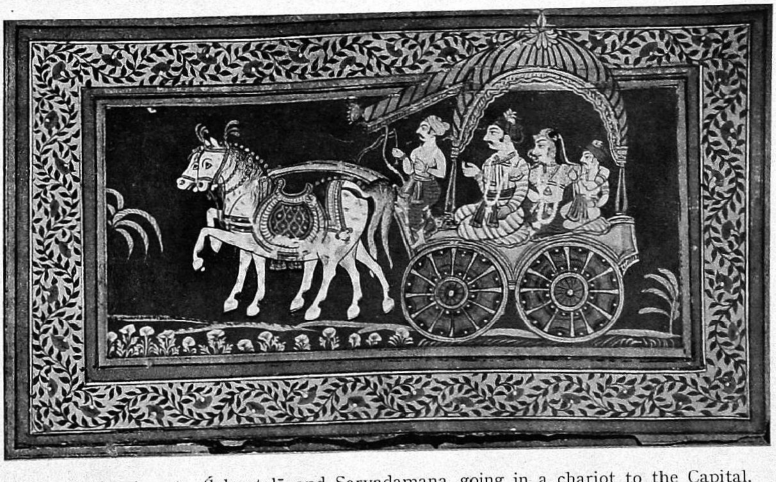

Fig. 3. Dushyanta, Śakuntalā and Sarvadamana going in a chariot to the Capital. Illustrated Hindi Ms. of *Śakuntalā* dated 1789 A.D.

Fig. 4. The sage Kaṇva lifting up the discarded baby. Illustrated Hindi Ms. of *Śakuntalā* dated 1789 A.D.

Fig. 5. Dushyanta, Śakuntalā and Sarvadamana in a royal garden. Illustrated Hindi Ms. of *Śakuntalā* dated 1789 A.D.

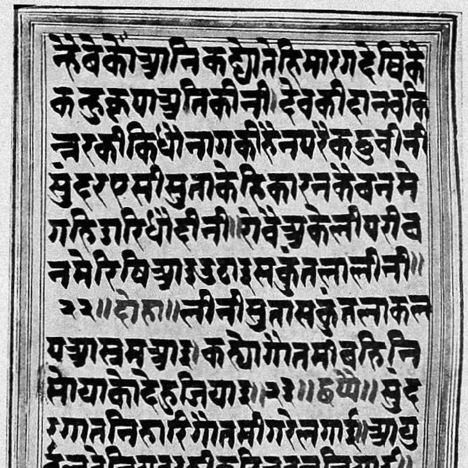

Fig. 6. A page from the text. Illustrated Hindi Ms. of *Śakuntalā* dated 1789 A.D.

Fig. 7. Floral Motif. Illustrated Hindi Ms. of *Śakuntalā* dated 1789 A.D.

For a long time it was thought that one of the essential functions of painting was the imitation of nature by the artist by means of a mathematical system. The truth, however, has established itself and the photographic function of landscape and painting in general has disappeared. In these illustrations the picture plane is a positive but neutral surface, though the background treatment is uniform in colour. The picture space is 'non-representative'. The spatial relations are conceptual and not optical. In these miniatures 'parallel plane' representation and 'hierarchic scaling' have been used. The latter term is synonymous with 'inverted perspective' in which persons derive their proportion or size according to rank. Gaṇeśa and Nārāyaṇa have been drawn bigger than the devotee. Sages Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Durvāsā are bigger in size than the other *dramatis personae*.

The 'terraced form' first suggested by Kallab is applied in the scene where Kaṇva picks up the forsaken child of Menakā by *Rājarśi* Viśvāmitra. In this method, the illusion of depth is insinuated by the vertical alignment of figures and objects. In this particular scene, beyond Kaṇva there are other trees in one of which sits the eagle. Here the height is suggestive of depth which gives us a bird's-eye view of the whole scene.

More interesting, however, are the lines on which the trees stand. Their heights are not indicative of higher altitudes. Undoubtedly, the tufts of grass are there, nevertheless, the solid, crisp and sharply defined band below each tree, is suggestive of plain ground. That they are not hillocks or mountains is borne out by the ground plane on which Śakuntalā is sitting when Durvāsā calls. The rear boundary is no longer created by rocks, flora or skyline, but by the background itself.

We may, therefore, permit ourselves to summarise our labours by stating that the illustrations of the Hindi Ms. of *Śakuntalā* concluded in four acts on the Purṇimā *tithi* of 1845 V.S., a significant year in the history of the Bhonsles, introduces us to a new school of book illustration, if not painting in general, which possibly flourished in Nagpur or the Central Provinces towards the end of the century. The costumes, the backgrounds, the human figures demonstrate its Deccani origin, as also the flora; while spatial relations, colouring and representation suggest the Rajasthani influence. Further search in the Bhonsle archives might prove fruitful in tracing more treasures.

Editors' Note :

Shrī Banerji's ascription of the *Śakuntalā* miniatures to a mixed Maratha idiom of the Central Provinces seems justified on grounds of style if these miniatures are compared to some of the murals in the Mahākālī Temple, Chanda (*Ancient India*, No. 9, 1953, Pls. XCVII-C; and

Indian Archaeology, 1954-55, A Review (Ed. A. Ghosh), Pl. LX, Fig. A). In the latter publication at p. 49, the wall-paintings of the Mahākālī Temple are referred to as being of the 17th century but on stylistic grounds they cannot be earlier than the 18th century, and the illustrated *Śakuntalā* manuscript suggests that they belong to the second half of the 18th century. Chanda is in the Central Provinces.

In the *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. VIII, the date of the *Udyogaparvan* miniatures was stated by error to be 1746 A.D. but the date actully given in the Ms. is a date between 1690 and 1700 A.D. This was ascertained when the colophon was re-read at the time when the Ms. was acquired for the National Museum.

Figure of a woman from a mural in the Mahākālī Temple, Chanda. 18th century A.D.

BRONZE HOARD FROM VASANTAGAḌH

Dr. Umakant Premanand Shah

Vasantagaḍh (old Sirohī State) is reached by a motor road about five miles from the Sajjana Road station on the Ahmadabad-Delhi route of the Western Railway. Sajjana Road station is 28 miles north of Abu Road station. The old town of Vasantagaḍh is at present known as Vāntaparāgaḍh.

An inscription, dated in the Vikrama year 682 (626 A.D.), discovered from Vasantagaḍh refers to the erection of a temple of Goddess Kshemaṅkarī (Kshemāryā — modern Khimel-Mātā in Gujarat and Marwar) by one Satyadeva in the reign of King Varmalāṭa (of Bhillamāla)[1] and his feudatory Rajjila who protected Arbuda with his capital at Vaṭa (or Vaṭākara = Vasantagaḍh). Bhillamāla is modern Bhinnamāla, in the Jālor District of Rajasthan (old Jodhpur State), about 80 miles north-west of Abu. The great poet Māgha says that his grand-father Suprabhadeva was a minister of Varmalāṭa who must be identified with Varmalāṭa of the Vasantagaḍh inscription noted above. Vasantagaḍh is called Vaṭākara in the said inscription of 682 V.S. Temples dedicated to the Sun and Brahmā, mentioned as existing in Vaṭapura in the inscription of Pūrṇapāla, dated Vikrama year 1099, are still existing at Vasanta-gaḍh. The remains at Vasantagaḍh have been fully described and the names Vaṭa and Vaṭākara discussed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, July 1905 to March 1906, pp. 49 ff.

The site of Vasantagaḍh still evidences remains of a later fortification by Rānā Kumbha of Mevāḍ, while some old sculptures dating from the post-Gupta age are also known. One such from the temple of the Sun, discovered by D.R. Bhandarkar, has been illustrated in Smith and Codrington, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 19 C, Plate 78 B. The Rajputana Museum at Ajmere preserves a beautiful sculpture of the Mātrikā Brahmāṇī (No. 298 in the Museum) obtained from this spot and assignable to *circa* 7th century A.D.

More than five decades ago, a bronze hoard was discovered from the cellar of an old Jaina temple (now repaired and known as the shrine of Śāntinātha) at Vasantagaḍh. An image of Śāntinātha in this shrine has an inscription dated V.S. 1507, while another inscription at the village of Cha-varlī nearby refers to two Jaina monks who went on a pilgrimage to Vasantapur in V.S. 1660.

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1 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, pp. 191 ff.

We have no means to ascertain whether this is the same old city of Vasantapur referred to in several Jaina legends, but it is very likely that this is the Vasantapur referred to in the *Samarāichchakahā* (*Samarāditya-Kathā*) of Haribhadrasūrī who lived in the 7th or 8th century A.D. The bronze hoard obtained from this site was unfortunately dispersed, for want of proper facilities for worship in the present village. The main bulk of the bronzes went to Piṇḍavāḍā, also reached from Sajjana Road station by motor and situated at a distance of about a mile and a half from the above station. They are at present worshipped in the Mahāvīrasvāmī temple at Piṇḍavāḍā.

Of the Vasantagaḍh-Piṇḍavāḍā bronzes two big free-standing images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras are of great value in the study of metal sculpture in Northern and Western India (illustrated here as Pl. IX, Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). Of these, Pl. IX, Fig. 1, representing Ādinātha or Ṛishabhanātha (recognised by traces of hair-locks shown on his shoulders) is 42 inches high, standing on a metal pedestal 10 x 14 x 10.5 inches. The second bronze (Fig. 2), cast in the same style, cannot be identified for want of a distinguishing mark or symbol, and is 40 inches high with a metal pedestal of 14 x 12 x 15.5 inches. This second bronze has an inscription on front face of the pedestal, which was read as under by the late Mm. Shri Gaurishankar H. Ojha:

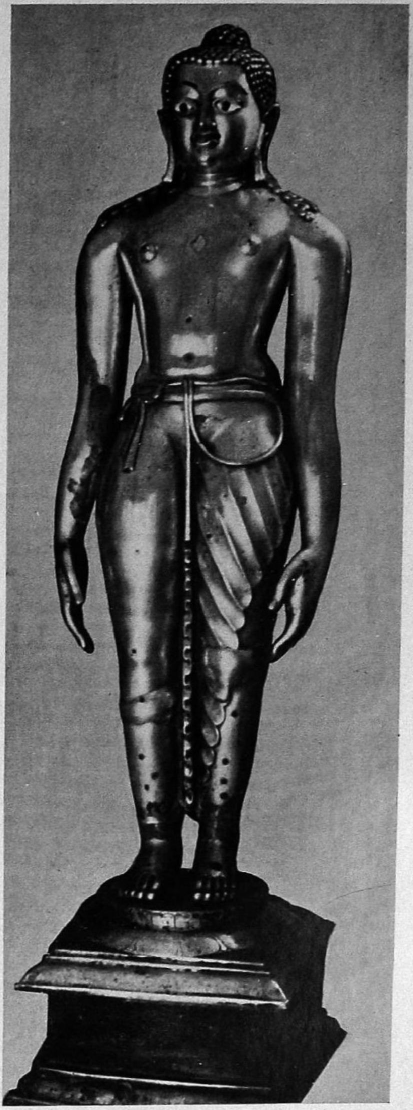
Nīrāgatvādibhāvena sarvajnatva —vibhāvakam|
Jnātvā bhagavatām rūpam Jinānāmeva pāvanam||
Dro (no) vaka-Yaśodeva..............................|
.... ridam kshetram Jainam kāritam yugmamuttamam|
Bhavaśataparamaparārjjitagurukarmta..............arjo......
.... varadarśanāya Śuddhasadjnānalābhāya||

Samvat 744
Sākshāt Pitāmaheneva Sarvarūpavidhāyinā|
Śilpinā Śivanāgena kritametajjinadvayam||

The above inscription tells us that a pair of images of Tīrthaṅkaras or Jinas, was the gift of one Yaśodeva for the spiritual benefit of acquiring right knowledge, right action and right faith, in Samvat 744 (687 A.D.). This pair of Jinas was cast by the Śilpin Śivanāga, who was verily the incarnation of Brahmā in creating all (varieties of) forms.

The reading of the inscription, with a short account of these bronzes, was first published by Munī Shrī Kalyāṇavijayajī in the *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, New Series, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 221-231. Its importance in the history of Indian art needs special emphasis, in as much as it reveals two beautiful bronzes from Western India, definitely dated in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., in a style which is certainly not Gupta nor Pāla even in the latter's earliest formative stage.

Fig. 1. Ādinātha from Vasantagaḍh. Cast by the sculptor Śivanāga in 687 A.D. Height 42 ins. without pedestal and the lotus. Pedestal height approximately 10 ins. without the lotus.



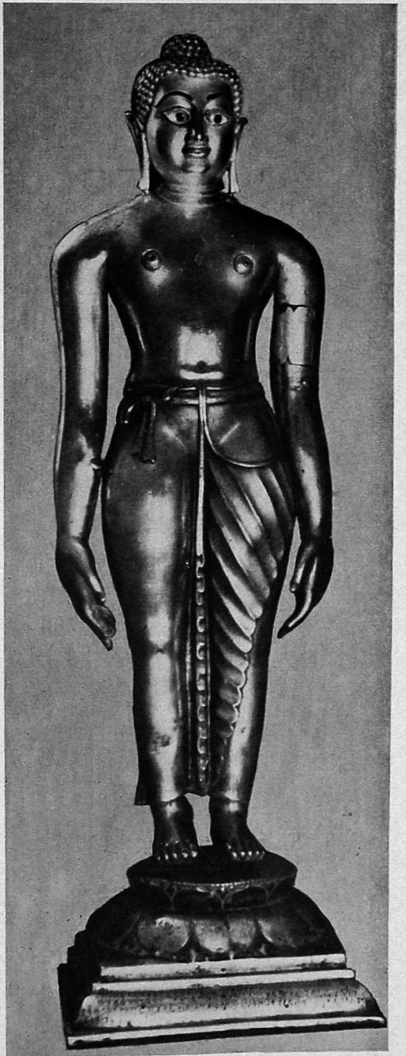
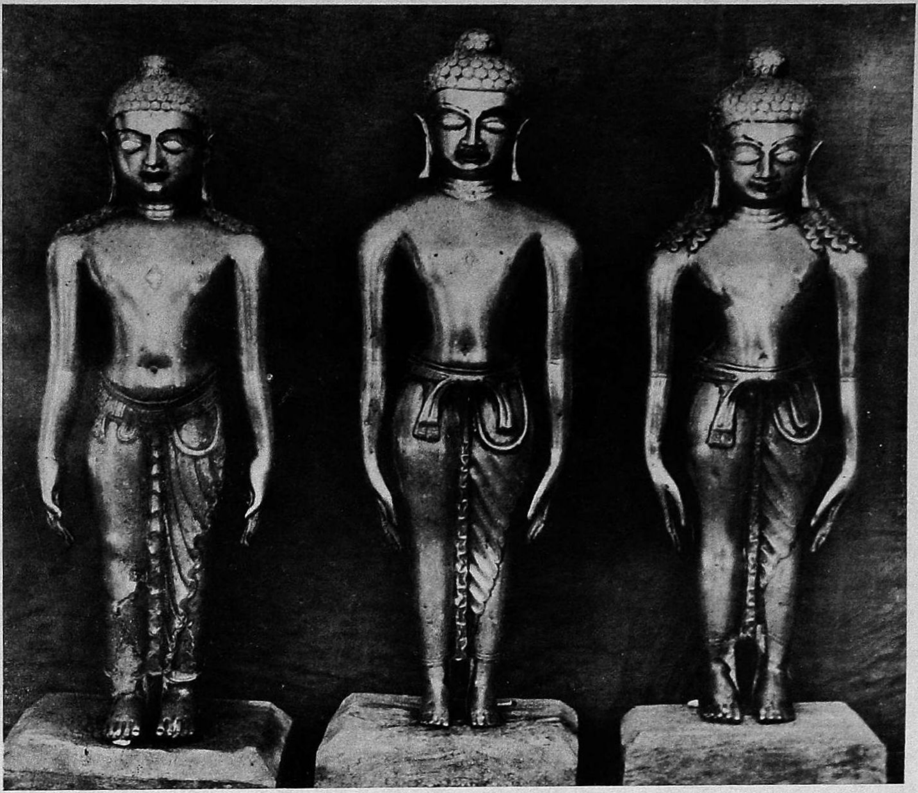


Fig. 2. Unidentified Tīrthaṅkara from Vasantagaḍh. The inscription on the pedestal states that this image and Fig. 1 were cast by the sculptor Śivanāga in 687 A.D. Height 40 ins. without the pedestal and lotus. Pedestal height approximately 14 ins. without the lotus.



(a) (b) (c)

Fig. 3. Tīrthaṅkaras from Bhillamāla. 8th century A.D.

Ht. of (a) approx. 24.3 ins. Breadth at shoulders, approx. 7.5 ins.

Ht. of (b) approx. 25.3 ins. Breadth at shoulders, approx. 8.5 ins.

Ht. of (c) approx. 25 ins. Breadth at shoulders, 8.5 ins.

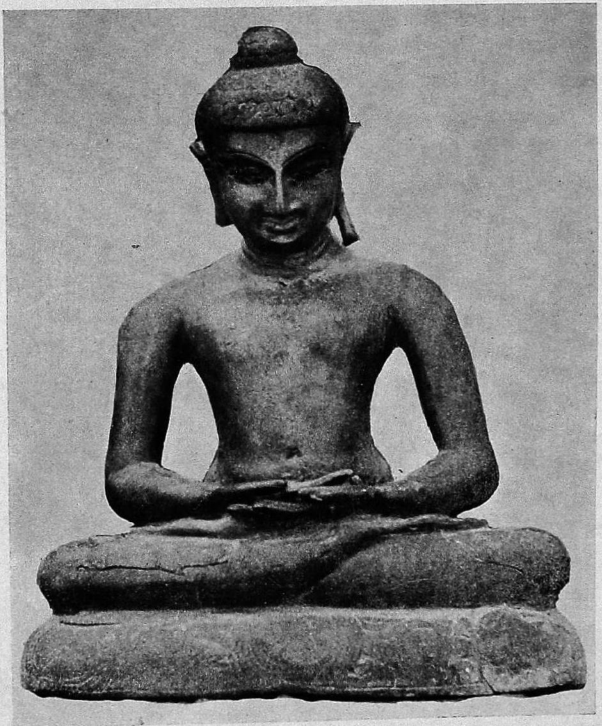


Fig. 6. Unidentified Tīrthaṅkara from Vasantagaḍh. 700-725 A.D. Ht. approx. 15.2 ins. Width at base, 12 ins.

Images of Tīrthaṅkaras are often so stylised that it is difficult to trace the evolution of a style merely from the figure of a Jina. But fortunately, so far as Western Indian Jaina bronzes are concerned, we can study the evolution of the style, from the *dhotī* on the person of a Jina, for every half-a-century from the 7th century onwards, since most of these belong to the Śvetāmbara sect and as we have a number of Jaina bronzes of different periods scattered over the different parts of Western India and worshipped to this day in the Jaina shrines. And in such a study, these two bronzes from Vasantagaḍh form an important landmark on account of the date of the inscription.

The inscription clearly states that Śivanāga cast a pair of bronzes, and it is obvious that even though Pl. IX, Fig. 2 alone is inscribed, Pl. IX, Fig. 1 is the other bronze referred to in the inscription. The *dhotī*, in both the figures, is held up by double strings; the lower one, like a silken or *jarī*-strap, is tied into a peculiar knot the ends of which dangle on the right thigh. In earlier sculptures this knot is shown in the centre, the two ends forming a half-arch, and not with one end longer as in our bronzes. The *dhotī* is still transparent, reminiscent of the best Gupta manner, but the shape of the *liṅga* is not suggested, as it is covered up with another device. This device is the addition of a scarf, from the centre of the girdle-string, covering the left thigh with peculiar folds shown by almost parallel lines. The scarf is broad at the upper end and almost pointed at the lower end near the feet. Between the two legs the scarf is held straight, and has a zig-zag border, much alike to the wavy border on the Buddha's garment in Gupta and Gandhāra sculptures. But this peculiar decorative appendage over the *dhotī* (I am convinced that it is an additional scarf, for even today certain Marwari ladies use such silken appendages, though worn slightly differently) is peculiar to early bronzes from Western India and helps us to label these bronzes as specimens of the Old Western Indian School of Art.

It may be noted, however, that Figs. 1 and 2 are not amongst the earliest specimens of this school, and that they do not represent the beginning or the first phase of the Western school referred to by the Tibetan Lāmā Tārānātha.

The two bronzes represent Tīrthaṅkaras in a free-standing meditative posture, technically known as *Kāyotsargadhyāna*. Images of Jinas (Tīrthaṅkaras) in this attitude are often simply called *Kāusaggiyās* (from *Kāusagga* = *Kāyotsarga*) by modern Jainas. The Jina figures, though beautifully modelled, yet display a certain stiffness which is never seen in the earlier Gupta creations. The *Ushṇīsha* and the stereotyped heavy schematic hair also show a degeneration from the best Gupta traditions. The proportions of the torso and the legs may be noted for a study of other specimens of this school from Western India.

That this school was widely prevalent in these parts is attested to by the three standing *Kāusaggiyās* from Bhillamāla (worshipped in a Jaina temple there), illustrated herein as Pl. X, Fig. 3. They clearly show a later stage in modelling and also in the treatment of the *dhotī* and the folds of the appendage-scarf. The three bronzes may roughly be assigned to the 8th century. The central one in Pl. X, Fig. 3, may be somewhat earlier than the other two, while the one on the right may be the latest (*circa* 9th century) amongst this trio. Unfortunately the original pedestals with the inscriptions, if any, are lost, but a comparison with the dated Vasantagaḍh bronzes helps us in assigning a tentative date to them.

The Vasantagaḍh hoard contains another partly mutilated *Kāusaggiyā* with a pedestal (Pl. XI, Fig. 4), showing better modelling than the Bhillamāla bronzes. The face retains all the characteristics of earlier modelling and, though the *dhotī*-knot is different from that of the work of Śivanāga, the bronze must be assigned to *circa* 700 A.D. The peculiar pedestal, with a surmounted smaller lotus-pedestal is noteworthy as such pedestals in double tiers seem to be a familiar feature of Western Indian bronzes from the 6th to the 8th century.

Stylistically, Pl. XI, Fig. 5, representing Ṛishabhanātha seated in *padmāsana*, *dhyāna-mudrā*, also from Vasantagaḍh-Piṇḍavāḍā, is allied to Pl. XI, Fig. 4, discussed above, and to Pl. X, Fig. 6, of another sitting Jina, also from the same spot. Ādinātha (Ṛishabhanātha) in Pl. XI, Fig. 5, sits on a big ornamental cushion with embroidered design of lotuses in circles etc., placed on a big pedestal or *siṁhāsana* (lion-seat) with a *dharma-chakra* (Wheel of Law) and two deer in the centre. The absence of a distinguishing symbol (*lānchhana*) on the pedestal is noteworthy. The faces of all the three Jinas have long noses with broad nostrils but not pointed ends; small curved lips, the lower one thicker and somewhat extended; roundish plump faces, with broad forehead; elongated eyes though the upper eye-lids do not show any trace of the characteristics of Pāla sculpture. The torso has a certain heaviness, and the 'gravity' is not distributed over the whole body but between the face and the chest in both the sitting figures. There were attendants, a *yaksha* and *yakshiṇī* attached to Pl. XI, Fig. 5, as can be seen from the projecting ends on the two sides of the pedestal. The decorative design on the cushions is still the popular Gupta motif of the lotus. Pl. XI, Fig. 5, and Pl. X, Fig. 6, cannot be later than the beginning of the eighth century A.D., *circa* 700-725 A.D., and may be slightly earlier.

It would be interesting to compare these two with the big Mahuḍī Jaina bronze, published by Dr. Hirananda Shastri (*Annual Report of the Department of Archaeology*, Baroda State 1938-39, Pl. IV, pp. 6-11) and assigned to the 7th century A.D. The close relation stylistically of all these bronzes is quite obvious.

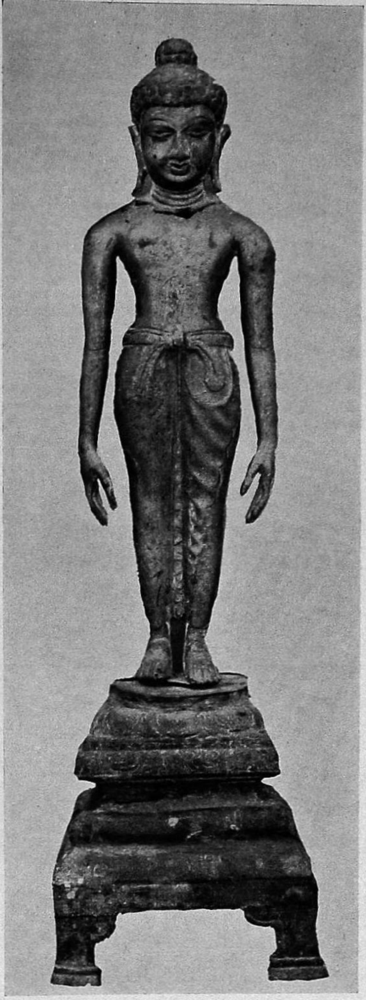


Fig. 4. Unidentified Tīrthaṅkara from Vasantagaḍh. *Circa* 700 A.D. Ht. approx. 22.7 ins. Width of pedestal at legs, 7 ins.

Fig. 5. Ṛishabhanātha from Vasantagaḍh. 700-725 A.D. Ht. approx. 18 ins. Width at base, 11 ins. Maximum width 17 ins.

Fig. 8A. Inscription on reverse of Fig. 8.

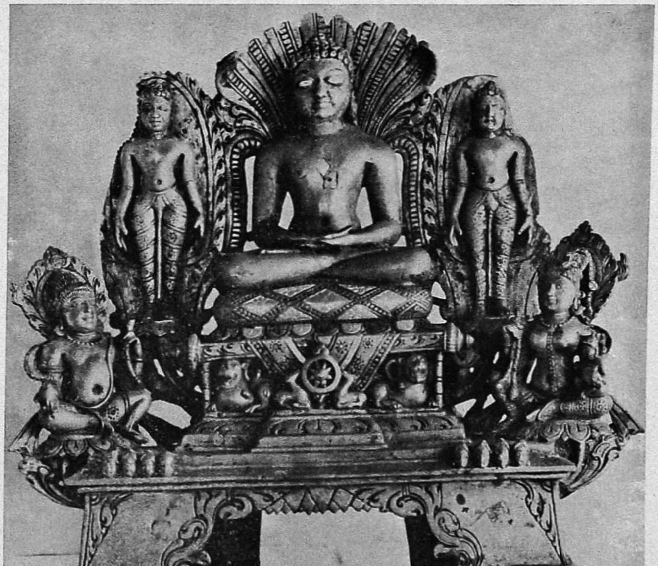


Fig. 8. Pārśvanātha from Akoṭā. *Circa* 640 A.D. Ht. approx. 12.5 ins.

Fig. 7. Ādinātha from Vasantagaḍh. *Circa* 700-725 A.D.
Ht. approx. 15.2 ins. Width at base, approx. 8.5 ins.

Fig. 9. Pārśvanātha from Sādaḍī. *Circa* 900-925 A.D.

Fig. 9A. Inscription on reverse of Fig. 9.

Fig. 11. Pārśvanātha from Vasantagaḍh. *Circa* 700-750 A.D.
Ht. approx. 13 ins.

Though rather crude in its modelling of the torso and of the bulls on the pedestal, yet the small bronze of Ādinātha, illustrated as Pl. XII, Fig. 7 (from Vasantagaḍh-Piṇḍavāḍā hoard) belongs to the same age as Pl. XI, Fig. 5, and Pl. X, Fig. 6, and is probably somewhat earlier than them. The back seat has a horizontal bar with *makara* ends, and two vertical bars with lotus designs. The pedestal shows the *dharma-chakra* in the centre and a bull at each end, which is the cognizance of this Jina.

Now a study of Jaina iconography has revealed that the recognition symbols (*lānchhanas*) first appear in art in the fifth century when the symbol is placed in the centre of the lion-seat on either side of the central *dharma-chakra* while the deer on each side of the wheel is absent. Later on the *lānchhana* or distinguishing mark generally appears in the centre of the cushion placed above the lion-throne. Thus this little bronze retains an iconographic characteristic which is definitely early, and therefore should be assigned to a date not later than the end of the 7th century A.D. The peculiar oblong flamboyant halo, with *chaitya*-tree in centre represented by two twigs above the head of the Jina, is noteworthy. The Jina and the pedestal were cast apiece, and the halo and the back seat were attached thereafter.

We will now take up another group of Jain bronzes from Vasantagaḍh. As the types and style of these bronzes from Western India are hardly known, it is advisable to first refer to datable specimens of the same school and then take up the Vasantagaḍh examples.

In the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Pl. XIII, Fig. 23, the present writer published a big unique bronze from the Akoṭā hoard which, on the evidence of the script of the inscription on the back, can be assigned to *circa* 640 A.D. It represents Pārśvanātha sitting in the centre, with a standing Jina on each side (both with oblong flamboyant on the back). The mode of wearing the transparent *dhotī* is noteworthy. It is different from that of the Vasantagaḍh bronze of 688 A.D. It has no scarf-appendage with folds. The *liṅga* which is shown through the transparent *dhotī* in the still earlier Akoṭā bronze installed in the sixth century by Jinabhadra Vāchanāchārya, is here cleverly mixed up with the central folds (*pāṭalī*) of the *dhotī*. But the tie-die design of the *dhotī* remains unchanged. There are eight planet heads on the pedestal and a *yaksha* and a *yakshī* in prominent position at two ends. Neither the *yaksha* nor the *yakshī* is shown with the *vāhana* (i.e. the elephant or the lion respectively). For the convenience of readers the bronze is reproduced here as Pl. XI, Fig. 8 (front), and Pl. XI, Fig. 8A (back inscription).

Now a bronze in worship in a Jaina shrine in Sādaḍī (Goḍavāḍa District, old Jodhpur State, near Ranakpur) reproduced as Pl. XII, Fig. 9 (front), and Pl. XII, Fig. 9A (back inscription) shows the same iconographic tradition, but here the *yaksha* and the *yakshiṇī* are depicted

with their *vāhanas*. This Sādaḍī bronze is *circa* 900-925 according to the palaeography of the inscription, even upon a conservative estimate.

The script of the inscription and the style may be compared with another bronze, originally installed at Broach in Śaka year 910 (988 A.D.), now preserved in Kaḍī, North Gujarat, and reproduced here as Pl. XIII, Fig. 10 (front) and Pl. XIII, Fig. 10A (back). In this Broach bronze, two more goddesses are added, both standing, the one on the right being Chakreśvarī (?) and the other on the left being the Vidyādevī Vairoṭyā. The *yaksha* figure is mutilated and lost, while the number of the planet heads on the pedestal is raised from eight to nine. The reader should particularly note the *dhotīs* of the standing Tīrthaṅkaras and the two goddesses. Even the halos behind the different figures must be minutely studied before assigning dates to uninscribed bronzes of this type. It will be seen that the Broach bronze is decidedly later than the Sādaḍī bronze reproduced as Pl. XII, Fig. 9.

With this definite evidence let us revert to the study of a group of bronzes from Vasantagaḍh forming an intermediate stage in art style between the Akoṭā bronze (Pl. XI, Fig. 8) and the Sādaḍī and Broach bronzes (Pl. XII, Fig. 9 and Pl. XIII, Fig. 10 respectively).

Pl. XII, Fig. 11, is a small bronze with eight small standing planets on the pedestal. The halos of the *yaksha* and *yakshī* are not of the flamboyant type but of a beaded design which possibly originated in the Gupta or late Gupta age and continued in the transitional period of Indian art. The *dhotīs* of the two standing Jinas have the appendage-scarf (*paryasatka*) with a loop resting on the left thigh.

Pl. XIII, Fig. 12, of elaborate workmanship, shows a similar type of *dhotī* worn by the standing Jinas, while the two standing goddesses on the sides and the attendant *yaksha* and *yakshiṇī* sitting on the elephant and the lion respectively, are beautifully modelled and exquisitely tooled. The richness of detail and ornamentation suggest a period of peace and prosperity. Upon a conservative estimate, this bronze should be assigned to the age of the Gurjjara-Pratihāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa I (*circa* 757 A.D.), or probably *circa* 700-750 A.D.

Of the same style are two more bronzes from the Vasantagaḍh hoard (in worship at Piṇḍavāḍā) illustrated as Pl. XIV, Figs. 13 and 14. These images suggest a flourishing period of metal art; the style is both vigorous and rich and the modelling of the attendant goddesses and the *yaksha* figures, as also the ornaments etc., remind us of the late Gupta art traditions of *circa* 7th century. Both these bronzes belong to the same age as Pl. XIII, Fig. 12.

In minute workmanship the famous Tārā from Sirpur no doubt excels these specimens from Vasantagaḍh, but a comparative study will show that this Tārā is a mixture of Gurjjara-Pratihāra and Pāla influences as would naturally be expected in a place like Sirpur. The Sirpur

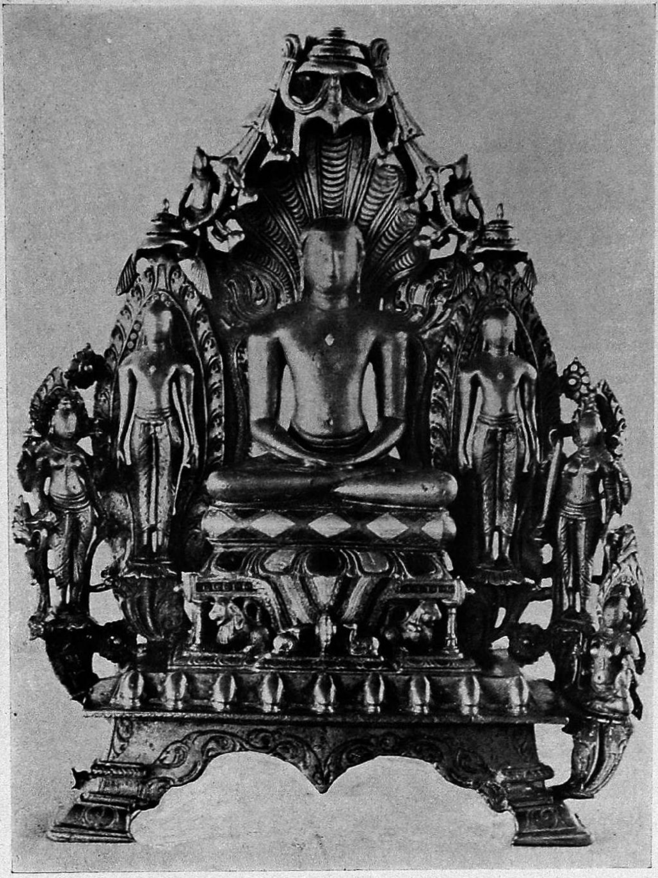


Fig. 10. Pārśvanātha from Kaḍī. Originally installed in Broach in 988 A.D.

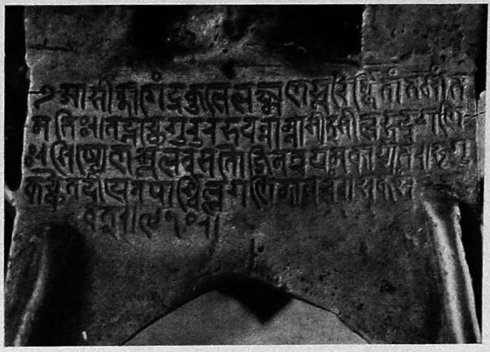


Fig. 10A. Inscription on reverse of Fig. 10.

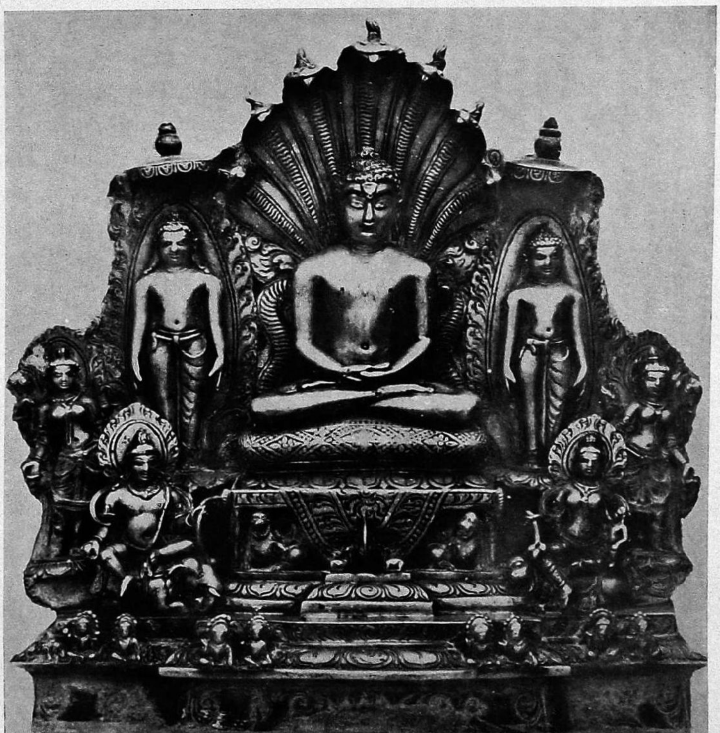


Fig. 12. Pārśvanātha from Vasantagaḍh. *Circa* 700-750 A.D. Ht. approx. 16.5 ins. Width at base, approx. 15.2 ins.

Fig. 13. Pārśvanātha from Vasantagaḍh. *Circa* 700-750 A.D. Ht. approx. 18 ins. Width at base, approx. 18 ins.

Fig. 14. Pārśvanātha from Vasantagaḍh. *Circa* 700-750 A.D. Ht. approx. 18.2 ins. Width at base, approx. 18 ins.

Tārā is, however, later than these bronzes. These Vasantagaḍh bronzes are not far removed from the Akoṭā bronze illustrated as Pl. XI, Fig. 8.

A small bronze of Sarasvatī, of outstanding quality, obtained from the Vasantagaḍh hoard (Pl. XV, Fig. 15), has been discussed by this writer in the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Vol. I, No. 1, Plate XI, Fig. 20. The crown of Sarasvatī is very elaborate with a sun disc on the top and *makara*-head on either end. Two leaves hanging on each side of the crown may also be noted and compared with similar leaves on the crowns of the goddesses in Pl. XIV, Figs. 13 and 14, noted above. The halo with the dotted rim reminds us of similar halos from Northern and Western India. The broad forehead, the straight long nose, small thick lips, elongated eyes and the plump face, similar to that of the Vasantagaḍh Tīrthaṅkaras (Pl. XI, Figs. 4 and 5), may be noted. The goddess wears two necklaces and *ekāvalī* with a small pendant in the centre and an *uraḥ-sūtra* which is longer and passes in a sweeping curve through fully developed breasts. Especially noteworthy is the design on the lower garment and the mode of wearing the long scarf passing across the shoulders and reaching the ankles in two wavy lines. In the treatment of these features the artist has shown an advanced sense of composition and effect. The goddess holds the lotus in her right hand, held aloft, while the left one, hanging loose, carries the book. She stands on the full lotus with a *maṅgala-kalaśa* or Full Vase (of ambrosia — *amrita*) placed on either side. The local worshippers have marred the beauty of her face by thickening the lines of the eyebrows. Similar spoilation is seen on the other Tīrthaṅkara images from Vasantagaḍh illustrated above.

The iconography of this goddess Sarasvatī follows the older tradition of the Mathura Sarasvatī of the Kushāṇa age (though of course the latter is sitting while this one is standing).[1] From the point of view of art, style, and also of iconography, this fine specimen of the Western school cannot be later than *circa* 700 A.D. The rich design of her garment also deserves notice. This is one of the noteworthy early specimens of the Western school.

A small bronze of a goddess, also said to have been obtained from Vasantagaḍh, Pl. XV, Fig. 16, seems to represent a Hindu goddess, and is probably a form of Gaurī, as suggested by the bull behind her and the lotus and an object with a crescent top carried in her upper hands. The bull is an uncommon *vāhana* for her but there is no such *devī* known to Jaina iconography, while the *vāhana* etc., suggest her Śaivite association. The identification is tentative. However, the style of the sculpture is noteworthy. It is obviously later than the Vasantagaḍh Sarasvatī

[1] Illustrated by Smith in his *Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities from Mathura*. Also, U. P. Shah, 'Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September 1941, Fig. 2, pp. 195 ff.

but probably of the same age as Pl. XIV, Figs. 13 and 14 discussed above, and may be assigned to the end of the eighth century A.D. or to the beginning of the ninth century.

Pl. XVI, Fig. 18, from this hoard, is another beautiful example of metal art, though of a later age. Fortunately, it bears an inscription with a date on the back, which reads as follows :

Samvat 1088
Mahattamena Chachena Sajjanena cha Kāritam/
Syāmanāgatanayena bimbam puṇyāya śraddhayā//
Koriṇṭaka-brihat-chaitye śrāvakena sudhīmatā/
Sūryāchandramasau yāvannandatām janapūjitam//

The bronze (17.2 inches x 13.5 inches) is thus a very valuable landmark in the study of Western Indian bronzes as it dates from Vikrama year 1088, i.e. 1031-32 A.D. It thus belongs to the age of Vimala Shah, the builder of the Vimala Vasahī shrine at Abu, and the minister of Bhīma I, the Chāḷukya ruler of Aṇahillavāḍa-Pāṭaṇ.

This metal sculpture represents a miniature Jaina shrine, with a trefoil *toraṇa* (arch) in the centre surmounted by a *Chaitya*-window ornament on top. The *Śikhara*-tops of two smaller towers at two ends are also noteworthy. Each tower is divided into sections or niches, the first two with Tīrthaṅkaras and the last two with standing goddesses. Small figures of attendant *yaksha* and *yakshiṇī*, on the two ends of the pedestal, show the same iconographic traditions as in other Vasantagaḍh bronzes, but the figure-work is much degenerated and stylised. The number of planets is increased from eight to nine, the last one Ketu being shown as a snake. Figures of the two standing flywisk-bearers on the sides of the central Tīrthaṅkara are stylised and stiff. The accent has shifted from the human figure to elaboration of detail and ornamentation. However, the modelling of the central Jina still shows superior workmanship. Silver is inlaid in the eyes, on the cushion, and also in the drapery hanging on the lion-throne.

Pl. XV, Fig. 17, representing a small sculpture of Pārśvanātha, from the same hoard, when compared with the inscribed bronze of Samvat 1088 just discussed, shows that it is certainly older than the latter. It is also earlier than the inscribed bronze of Samvat 1072 of Babu Puran Chand Nāhar's collection or other bronzes of the eleventh century A.D. from Pāṭaṇ and elsewhere. The small *chaitya*-window motifs on the tops of the two pillars and on top of the whole bronze in this example (Pl. XV, Fig. 17) is also of an earlier type and the image may tentatively be assigned to the late ninth or the early tenth century A.D.

We would now refer to the latest specimen in this hoard, which again is fortunately inscribed and dated (Pl. XVI, Fig. 19.) The inscription on the back reads as follows :

Fig. 17. Pārśvanātha from Vasantagaḍh.
Late 9th or early 10th century A.D. Ht. approx. 13 ins.
Width at base, approx. 9.2 ins.

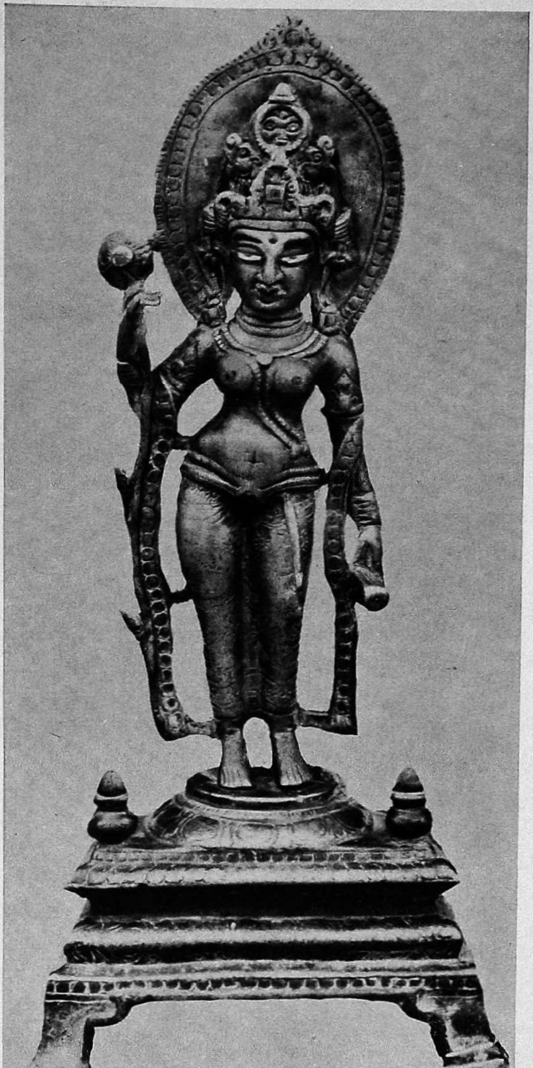


Fig. 15. Sarasvatī from Vasantagaḍh. *Circa* 650-700 A.D.
Ht. approx. 15.5 ins. Width at base approx. 4 ins.

Fig. 16. A Devī from Vasantagaḍh.
Late 8th century A.D. Ht. approx. 5.2 ins.

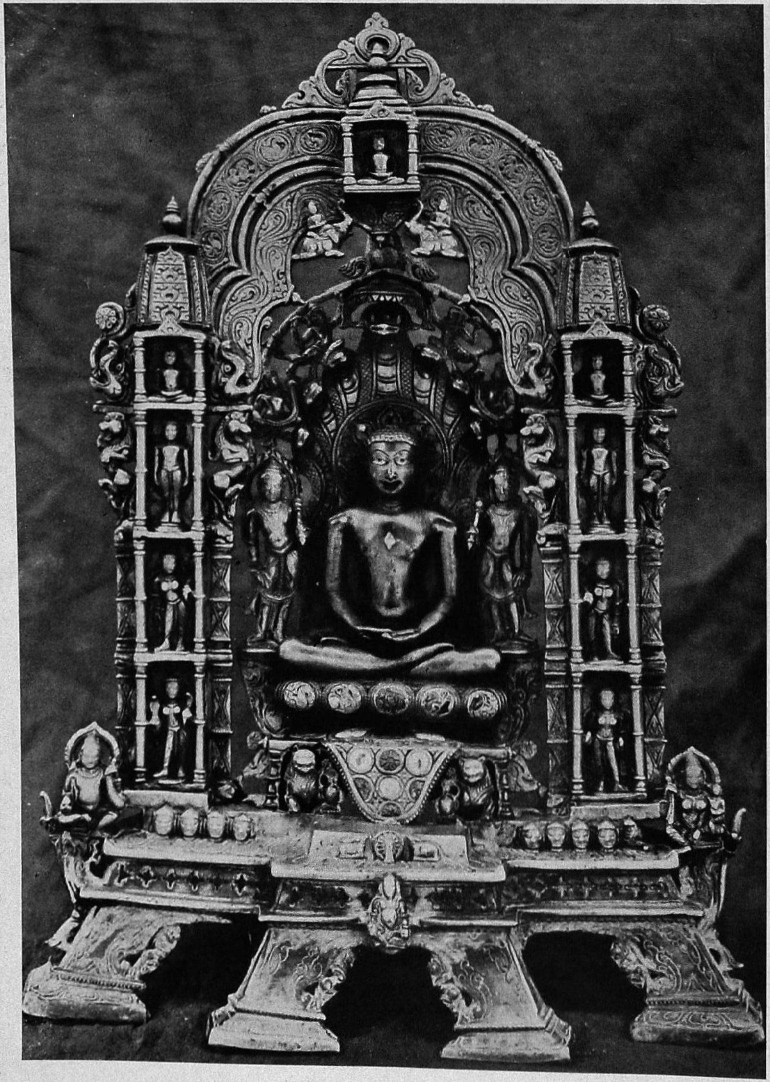


Fig. 18. Inscribed Pārśvanātha image seated in shrine. Vasantagaḍh. 1031-32 A.D. Ht. Approx. 17.2 ins. Width at base, approx. 13.5 ins.

Fig. 19. Inscribed plaque of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. Vasantagaḍh. 1094-95 A.D. Height approx. 19.2 ins. Width at base, approx. 15 ins.

Samvat 1151
Vīhilatanujaśrāddhah yaśovarddhana(kah) Jaśo (Yaśah)/
(A)chīkaradidam ruchyum chaturvimśatipaṭṭakam//

The inscription states that the image was installed in Vikrama year 1151 (1095 A.D.). This bronze (Pl. XVI, Fig. 19) is called a metal plaque or *paṭṭa* of (i.e. representing) the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras (*Chaturvimśati-paṭṭaka*). The composition is elaborate, but not very pleasing, and the various small Tīrthaṅkaras placed in different niches are subordinated to the decorative niches and other adjacent ornamentation which again is much stylised. Even the central Jina does not show the same absorption as in the bronze dated in Samvat 1088. The *yaksha* shows another stage in Jaina iconography and has a bull-face, while the *yakshī*, though same as before, is stylised and crude.

The bronze is, however, noteworthy in as much as it affords evidence of continuation of prolific metal casting activity. It indicates the influence of contemporary miniature paintings and the bronze itself may be regarded as a species of miniature work in metal.

However, one need not conclude that bigger metal sculptures were not cast, for, a splendid example of a large bronze of Ajitanātha dating from this age (11th century) now preserved in a shrine in Ahmadabad, has already been published by Shri N. C. Mehta.[1] In fact, dated specimens of various sizes and types for every quarter century can be collected from 1100 A.D. to 1700 A.D. from various Jaina shrines in Western India. They show the continuity of metal sculpture in Western India, especially in Gujarat, Saurashtra and Rajasthan, which formed a cultural unit during the whole of the mediaeval period of Indian history.

NOTE:

The Sirpur Tārā referred to at p. 60 is reproduced in a brochure published by The Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay. The Nāhar bronze referred to at p. 62 is noticed in P. C. Nāhar, *Jaina Lekhasamgraha*, Vol. 2, Calcutta 1927, p. 1. The inscription was not fully deciphered. The bronze is being discussed in the writer's forthcoming *The Art of the Akoṭā Bronzes*. Also compare another bronze from Nāhar's collection, dated in Vikrama Samvat 1077, illustrated by M. D. Desai in *Jaina Sāhityano Samkshipta Itihāsa*, Bombay 1933, Pl. opp. p. 3.

For earlier bronzes of The Old Western School, refer to U. P. Shah, (1) 'A Unique Jaina Image of Jīvantasvāmi,' *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1951, pp. 72ff and

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[1] N. C. Mehta, 'A Mediaevel Jaina Image of Ajitanātha—1053 A.D., *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVI, 1927, pp. 72-74 and Plate. The image is now in the Jaina shrine at Zaverivāḍā, Ahmadabad. It is 51" in height. The inscription is on the pedestal. The total height with the arch above is 63". The bronze was installed in V.S. 1110, by a monk named Pūrnabhadra of Thārāpadrīya gachchha.

Plate; (2) 'Ancient Sculptures from Gujarat and Saurashtra,' *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. VIII, Bombay 1952, pp. 49ff and Plates, especially Pl. V, Fig. 10.

SUMMARY OF INSCRIPTION ON FIG. 2

"Having realised that the form (image) of the Jinas, manifests the omniscience (of the Tīrthaṅkara) on account of virtues like non-attachment etc., and that the form of the Bhagavān Jina is purifying, ... *Yaśodeva* ...... and others caused to be made this best pair of Jaina Images. For obtaining right action, right knowledge and (right) faith (and for destroying) the great defilement of *Karma*-particles collected in a chain of hundreds of births. Samvat 744. This pair of Jinas has been made by the Śilpin (artist) *Śivanāga*, who is very like the great Pitāmaha (Brahmā, the Creator), creating numerous different forms".

INSCRIPTION ON BACK OF FIG. 8 (SEE FIG. 8A)

The inscription reads :

(l. 1) *Om, Nāgendra-kule Sidhha-Mahattara*

(l. 2) *Śiṣyāyāḥ / Khambilyārji (kāyāḥ).*

"Om, (this is the pious gift) of the nun (ārjikā) Khambhili, the disciple of Siddha Mahattara of Nāgendra kula."

INSCRIPTION ON BACK OF FIG. 9 (SEE FIG. 9A)

The inscription reads :

(l. 1) *Om Devadharmmoyam Saraṇabhāryyā*

(l. 2) *Yā Devi-Śrāvikayā*

"Om this is the pious gift by Devi-Śrāvikā, the wife of Saraṇa."

INSCRIPTION ON BACK OF FIG. 10 (SEE FIG. 10A)

(l. 1) *Āsīnnāgendakule Lakshmaṇasurirnnitāntasānta-*

(l. 2) *matiḥ // tadgachchhegururabhavannāmnāsīt Śīlabhadragaṇhi*

(l. 3) *Śiṣyeṇa Mūlavasatau Jinatrayamakāryyata // Bhṛigu-*

(l. 4) *kachchhe tadīyena Pāśvillagaṇinā varm // Saka Sam-*

(l. 5) *vat // 910 //*

"In the Nāgendra-kula flourished Lakshmaṇasuri of extremely peaceful nature. In his gachchha (line) came the teacher (pontiff) Śīlabhadra gaṇi, his (the latter's) pupil, Pārśvilla gaṇi caused to be made this beautiful *Jina-traya* (group of three Tīrthaṅkaras, a Trī-Tīrthika Image), in the shrine (known as) Mūla-vasati in Bhṛigukachchha, in the Śaka year 910 = (988 A.D.)".

INSCRIPTION ON BACK OF FIG. 18

Samvat 1088

Mahattamena Chachchhena Sajjanena ca kāritam |
Śyāmanāgatanayena bimbam puṇyāya śraddhayā ||
Koriṇṭaka-brihachchaitye śrāvakeṇa sudhīmatā |
Sūryāchandramasau yāvannandatām janapūjitam ||

"Samvat 1088. This image has been caused to be made, by Mahattama Chachchha and Sajjana, the two Jaina lay-worshippers of pious mind, who are sons of Śyāmanāga, with faith and for obtaining merit, (installed) in the big temple of Koranṭaka gachchha. May it be victorious, being worshipped by people, till the Sun and the Moon last!"

INSCRIPTION ON BACK OF FIG. 19

Samvat 1151

Vīhilatanuja-śrāddhaḥ Ja(ya)śovarddhana(kah) Jaśo (Yaśaḥ)-
(A)chikaradidam ruchyam Chaturvimśati-paṭṭakam ||

"Samvat 1151. Śrāvaka (lay worshipper) Yaśovarddhana, the son of Vīhila, caused to be made this glorious and beautiful (image which is a) Chaturvimśati-paṭṭaka (i.e. a plaque or *paṭṭa* showing 24 Jinas).

AN ILLUSTRATED AVADHĪ MS. OF LAUR-CHANDĀ IN THE BHĀRAT KALĀ BHAVAN, BANARAS

RAI KRISHNADASA

WITH the emergence of modern Indo-Aryan languages such as old Hindi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Bengali, etc. in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a country-wide popular movement of poetry, art, music and dance was witnessed as the greatest force in the life of the masses. It produced a rich literature, mostly charged with religious instruction, but also evidencing a folk inspiration which served the purpose of propagating sectarian principles as well as delighting the hearts of the people. Many among such works in the Apabhraṁśa and old Gujarati literature have already come to light.

These narratives glow with romance and tell of love, courtship, the pangs of separation and of the happy reunion of parted lovers. *Chitradarśana* (acquaintance with the lover through a portrait), *Svapna-darśana* (seeing the lover in a dream), the pet parrot or *maina*, romantic far-away lands, and such other motifs, are permanent features of these stories. They survive even today in the *Nānī kī Kahānī* (folk stories).

These romantic tales were sometimes utilised by poets for a higher purpose, viz. to expound an esoteric theory. At the same time they were encyclopaedic in character and highly instructive, being repositories of contemporary culture. A comprehensive picture of the life of those times has been revealed as a result of modern research into this form of literature.

These narratives were mostly composed in *dohās* and *chaupaīs* in the Avadhī language, and in *chaupaīs* and *ghattā* in the Apabhraṁśa language.

The set number of *chaupaīs* — five, seven or eight — had *dohās* intervening to avoid monotony. Romantic poems were recited to the people every evening by bards and were a source of perennial joy and entertainment. Such poems also conveyed religious ideas to their listeners.

These stories were deep-rooted in tradition. In mediaeval times there was a great revival of story-telling as evidenced by Gujarati poems recently discovered and published at Ahmadabad, Baroda, etc. The *Bhavisyatta Kahā, Sursundarī Kahā,* etc. are earlier examples in the same style in the Apabhraṁśa language.

Even the Sufi saints employed this popular method for propogating their thoughts, and thus it became a common feature of all Indian religious orders. The Sufis combined the elements of

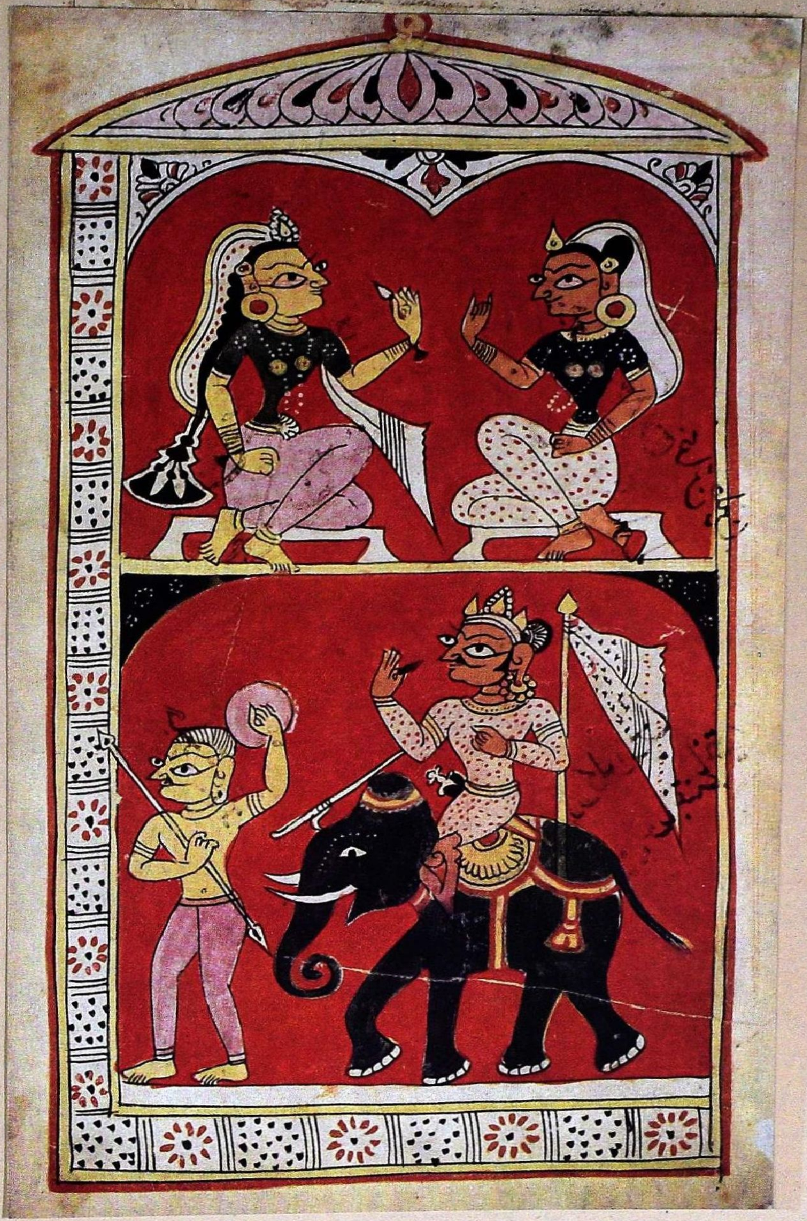

PLATE E. Illustration to Ms. of Laur-Chandā. *Circa* 1540 A.D. Apabhraṁśa style. Same size.
Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

Muslim doctrinaire with Indian religious ideas and Indian metaphysics. This was the reason why the Hindus so completely accepted and avidly recited the verses of such Muslim poets. In Hindi, the popularity of romantic poems commenced when the Apabhraṁśa literature was taking shape as *Deśī Bhāshā*. This happened from the twelfth century onwards, when romantic stories in Hindi began to be composed. Thus there grew up a tradition of Hindi-Avadhī romances which has continued almost upto our times. In 1905 was produced the last Premākhyāna poem called *Nūrjahān* by Nazir Ahmad of Pratapgarh. Malik Mohammad Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* is the most important contribution in this style.

One of the oldest works in this tradition is *Chandāyan* by Mulla Dā'ūd written in 1370 A.D.[1]

It was Prof. Shirani of Lahore who salvaged a Ms. of the *Chandāyan* (*Laur-Chandā*) of which twenty-four illustrated pages were acquired by the Lahore Museum, and the rest found their way to the Punjab University Library. As a result of the partition of India and Pakistan ten illustrated pages of the above Ms. were allotted to the East Punjab Government Museum, Chandigarh,[2] and the rest remained in the Lahore Museum. Some of these twenty-four illustrations have been reproduced.[3]

An attempt to read these pages is long overdue. This work by Mulla Dā'ūd is perhaps the oldest of the Avadhī romances and marks the beginning of a great tradition which brought forth *Prabandhas* like the *Padmāvat* and the great *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa*.

There is a report of a complete text of *Chandāyan* having come to light, but the text has not yet been brought to public notice as promised.

Recently Prof. Askari, while surveying the Khānkāh Library of Maner Sharīf near Patna, found a complete copy of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* and some fragments of the *Chandāyan* (folios 144 to 177) which indicate that it is a text half as big as the *Padmāvat* itself, having about 3000 lines. One *dohā* with its five *chaupāīs* is written on each page, so that sixty-six *dohās* or 462 lines of this lost poem have been recovered. At least 286 *dohās* are missing in the beginning, and how much at the end is not known.

It is also noteworthy that on the margin of this manuscript is written some portion of Kutuban's *Mrigāvatī*, i.e. one *dohā* with five *chaupāīs* on each page, or two *dohās* and ten *chaupāīs* on each folio.

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1 For this and other information regarding these texts I am grateful to my friend Dr. Vasudeva Sharanaji Agrawala.

2 As the Chandigarh Museum has yet to be constructed, the collections are kept at Simla.

3 A. Chaughtai, 'A few Hindu Miniature Painters of the 18th and 19th Century,' *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Pl. 3.
Karl Khandalavala, 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 13, Fig. 13.
Basil Gray, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, London 1950, Colour Plate A and Pl. 82, Fig. 399(b).

From the above manuscript, the *Chandāyan* appears to be a work in colloquial Avadhī, having those basic elements of classical *Kāvya* poetry which were greatly developed in Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* and Tulsīdāsa's *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa*.

The story of the *Chandāyan* is based on a folk tale known as *Laur-Chandā* or *Lorikāyan*, at the present time, and sung as a popular ballad in the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh and Western Bihar by the Ahirs who have a version of the *Lorik* legend resembling that versified by Mulla Dā'ūd. Another version in song, called *Charainī*, is prevalent amongst these Ahirs, and is sung like the *Ālhā*. The *Charainī* may be a folk-song version of *Chandāyan* just as the *Ālhā* is a version of Jagnik's poem.

Being a story of the Ahir caste, the *Lorik* ballad seems to have had its musical notation and background in Ābhīr culture.

Fortunately Badāonī[1] has left us a valuable record about this poem. He writes:

'*In the year 772 (1370 A.D.) Khānjahān Maqbūl, the prime minister of Fīrūz Shāh, died and his son Jūnā Shāh succeeded to his title (office). The book Chandāyan which is a Masnavī in the Hindvi language and described the love of Lorik and Chand, the lover and the beloved, and which is indeed extremely inspiring, was composed in his name by Maulana Dā'ūd. It is so very well known in these regions that it scarcely requires any praise. Makhdūm Shaikh Faqīruddīn Waiz Rabhani (Divine Sermonizer) read out of it on one occasion and the people on hearing it were seized with a peculiar sort of ecstasy. When some of the learned men of that age asked the Shaikh about the reason of using this Masnavī, he replied that the whole of it was full of divine truth, ecstatic contemplation of ardent lovers and devout knowers and was comparable to the interpretations of some of the Āyats (passages) of the Quran and the sweet songs of 'Hind'. At present also they capture the hearts by reciting these sweet songs.*'

Manuscripts of this important poem which set the norm for a host of love-romances in the Avadhī language, mostly by Muslim poets, must have been popular in Akbar's time and even later. Although the poem is now regarded as lost, with the exception of the few pages recovered by Prof. Askari, it is hoped that systematic search for Hindi manuscripts will reveal a copy in some Muslim family or library.

There is not yet sufficient material to reconstruct the detailed story of this love-poem of *Chandāyan*. Maulana Dā'ūd himself writes that he had heard the folk story from one Malik Nathan and then versified it. Lorik, the hero, says in one place:

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1 Badāonī, *Muntakhabu't-Tawārikh*, Vol. 1, p. 333 (Trans. *Bibliotheca Indica* Series).

'I am Ahir by caste and my name is Lorik; Kuarnagar is my birth-place; Chandā is the daughter of Sahadeo Bhar; she was married to Bhawan. I have brought her from Bhawan's house and I have made the woman, Chandā, my wife. She left the house of her husband and became my companion.'

A comparative study of its three fragments, as known at present, viz. (a) the pages in the Maner Sharīf Khānkāh Library, (b) those in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (only 6 pages), and (c) those in the Museums of Lahore and Chandigarh, and in the Punjab University Library, will be an important contribution.

That illustrated copies of the *Chandāyan* and other similar poems were frequently prepared can easily be inferred from the existence of stray paintings. The Lahore Museum, prior to partition, had 24 paintings from a series[1] illustrating the *Laur-Chandā* romance while the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, has six from an earlier series illustrating the same poem. Both have the original Avadhī text on the back of the folios, in Persian script.

The Lahore Museum series is in the early Rajasthani style and may belong to the latter half of the sixteenth century,[2] while the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan series (Pl. E and Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1-4) is earlier, being in the Apabhraṁśa style of painting as it prevailed in the first half of the sixteenth century. It may be ascribed to *circa* 1540 A.D.

The Apabhraṁśa school flourished not only in Gujarat, Malwa and Rajasthan, but also at distant centres of Bengal, Orissa and the South. Traces of this style are seen to survive in provincial folk schools to this day.

The *Laur-Chandā*[3] paintings of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan belong to the Apabhraṁśa group, as is clear from characteristics such as the protruding further eye, the stylized physiognomy and bodies, and the coarse outlines in black. But despite their adherence to the traditional Apabhraṁśa style the typical turbans of the sixteenth century, along with contemporaneous costumes, go to indicate that the artist was aware of the world around him. The manner in which

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1 Some of these have inscriptions which led Basil Gray to label them incorrectly as *Bārāmāsā* paintings (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, London 1950, p. 109). Actually the *Bārāmāsā* theme was only a favourite motif in these romances. Karl Khandalavala in his 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, has correctly identified the Lahore Museum Series as illustrating the *Laur-Chandā* story.

2 In 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 24, Karl Khandalavala ascribes the Lahore Museum series to the period 1610-1620 and suggests, it might even be 1620-1630. He is not certain if the series was painted in Rajasthan or somewhere in the United Provinces. He considers a date earlier than 1600 A.D. as out of question.

3 The identification was first noticed by Shri P. L. Gupta. A page from the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan's series was published in Karl Khandalavala's 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 12, Fig. 12. The same page was also published in Basil Gray, *Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 82, Fig. 398, where it was ascribed to Western India, second half of the 16th century. Mr. Khandalavala in his article suggested the U. P. as the possible provenance.

the scarf over the head (*oḍhnī*) is treated, standing out behind the head, affords an interesting comparison with the transparent *oḍhnīs* in the Lahore Museum series which also stand out behind the head.

Fig. a. A page of the text from the illustrated *Laur-Chandā* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

The colour scheme is limited to the frequent use of dark blue, yellow and *īngur* (Plate E). It seems that every page of the book was illustrated, having the text in Persian characters at the back (Fig. a). There is a seal impression on one of the pages in Nashtāliq, but it is now too obliterated to be deciphered.

It is not yet possible to describe the incidents in the illustrations reproduced herein as the available folios do not enable us to reconstruct the story. See Pl. XVII, Figs. 1-4. The provenance of the Ms. is uncertain but the Avadhī text would make a Western Indian provenance improbable. Even the provenance of the Lahore Museum series is debatable though it resembles the early Rajasthani style. The provenance of our Ms. may well be Uttar Pradesh.

A TERRACOTTA - PLAQUE OF MAHISHAMARDINĪ FROM NAGAR, RAJASTHAN

R. C. AGRAWALA

THE antiquity of the Śakti-cult in India can be traced back to a very remote period.[1] The people of ancient Rajasthan also attached great importance to the worship of the Mother Goddess[2] in her different forms. The truth of this statement is corroborated by the inscriptions, stone sculptures and terracotta figurines discovered at several places in this region. She was a popular goddess being known in this part of the country under names such as Saraswatī, Gaurī, Ambikā, Ghaṇṭālī, Kshemāryā-Kshemaṅkarī, Nandā, Kālī, Chāmuṇḍā, Śaṅkarā, Aghaṭeśvarī, Sachchikā, Śītalā etc.

The Rajputs salute each other by uttering the phrase '*Jaya Mātā jī ki*' (May the Mother Goddess be victorious). This testifies to the fact that the cult of Durgā has permeated into the everyday life of the people of the land. In this connection, a passing reference may be made to a unique sculpture of black stone now preserved in the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer. This image of Chāmuṇḍā[3] belongs to the late mediaeval period and was transferred from Āuwā (Jodhpur Division). It depicts a ten-headed and fifty-four armed female deity standing on a human figure. The latter is lying prostrate under the feet of the goddess. This unusual image requires study at the hands of iconographists, for it is definite that this Āuwā sculpture is very different from the types[4] hitherto published.

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1 T. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 327-400.
The Vedic Age, London 1950, p. 186.
The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay 1951, pp. 466-468.
The Classical Age, Bombay 1954, pp. 439-444.
The Age of Imperial Kanauj, Bombay 1955, pp. 336-347.

2 R. C. Agrawala, *The Journal of Behar Research Society*, Vol. XLI, No. I, March 1955, pp. 1-12.
The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2, pp. 37-46.
Artibus Asiae, Switzerland, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 232-234.
The Indian Historical Quarterly, December 1953, pp. 393-395.

3 Height 2 feet 5 inches. A photograph of this image has been included amongst the post-cards on sale at the gate of the museum at Ajmer.

4 For unique sculptures of *Nava-durgā* in Indian mediaeval art, see *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 343 and 346 ; *Journal of Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhana Maṇḍala*, 1943, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, pp. 25-27.
There are also some interesting examples in the Central Museum, Nagpur, amongst the sculptures from Chanda, etc.

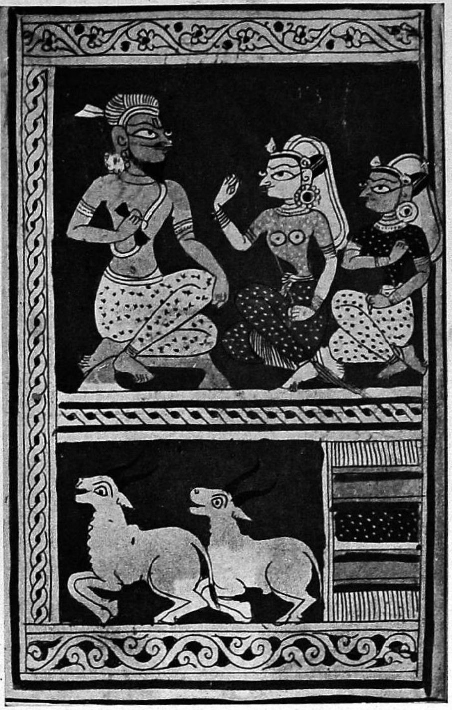

Fig. 1. Illustration to the Laur-Chandā.
Circa 1540 A.D. Apabhraṁśa style.
Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

Fig. 2. Illustration to the Laur-Chandā.
Circa 1540 A.D. Apabhraṁśa style.
Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

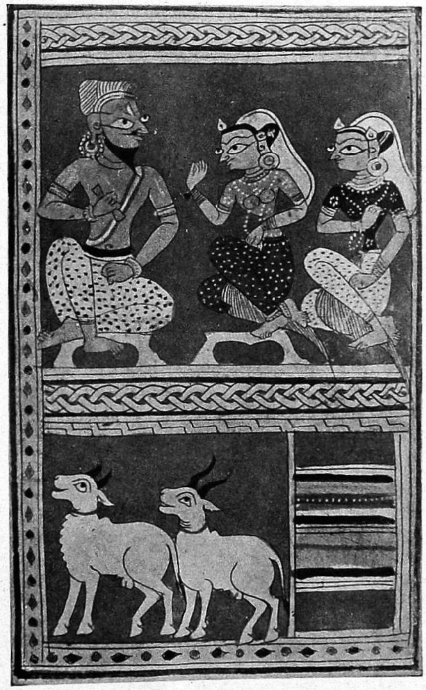

Fig. 3. Illustration to the Laur-Chandā.
Circa 1540 A.D. Apabhraṁśa style.
Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

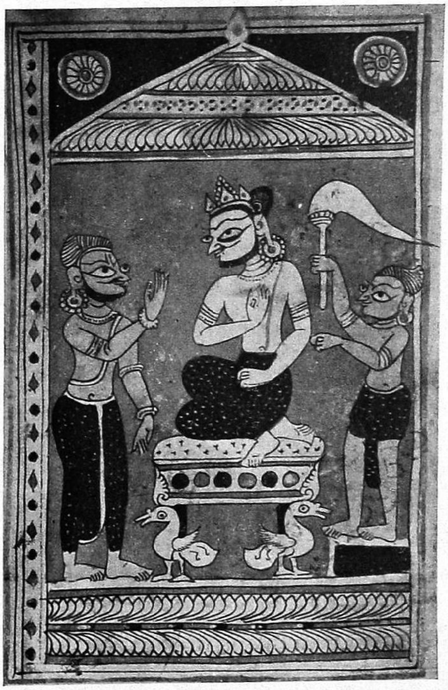

Fig. 4. Illustration to the Laur-Chandā.
Circa 1540 A.D. Apabhraṁśa style.
Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

Fig. 2. Padmapāṇi from Maṇḍora. Gupta period.
Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. See p. 75.

Fig. 1. A Terracotta-Plaque of Mahishamardinī from Nagar. Mid-first century B.C. to early first century A.D. Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.

Fig. 3. A Śuṅga peroid Terracotta of a Head of a Lady from Hazara District, N.W.F. Province.
Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. See p. 75.

As regards the representation of Mahishamardini-Durgā in ancient Indian sculpture, it is not possible[1] to agree with Dr. J. N. Banerjee[2] who opines that *'extant Mahishāsuramardinī images can hardly be dated before the Gupta period, and some miniature stone figures unearthed at Bhītā[3] are a few of the earliest summary representations of this aspect of the goddess'.* The find of a number of Kushāṇa sculptures of Mahishamardinī from Mathura[4] and Besnagar[5] is a discovery of importance. But even more noteworthy is the acquisition of an early terracotta-plaque (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1) of this category, from Nagar or Karkoṭanagara the ancient seat of the *Mālwa-gaṇa*, now in the Jaipur unit of Rajasthan. This moulded plaque is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Āmer, situated about 5 to 6 miles from Jaipur City. It appears to belong to the beginning of the first century A.D. or the middle of the first century B.C. Its importance lies in the fact that it testifies to the popularity of the cult of Mahishamardinī at such an early period. Being a terracotta-plaque it suggests the wide circulation of similar folk-cult objects in the region of Nagar. In fact it appears to be the earliest[6] representation of the deity in the terracotta-art of India. Future discoveries in archaeological excavations and explorations may enable us to throw more light on this problem.

The reverse of the rectangular plaque from Nagar is quite flat. It measures about 8 inches in height and 4 inches in width. It was broken into three parts at the time of its acquisition from one of the trenches excavated at Nagar some years ago. It is made of white clay besmeared with mica. The three parts have since been joined together with the exception of the right breast[7] of the goddess. Her rounded face and head-dress reveal similar details to those seen in a fragmentary terracotta[8] piece excavated from Sāmbhar and published by D. R. Sahni in his excavation report.[9] The Nagar plaque depicts the four-handed deity, her lower right

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1 See also V. S. Agrawala, Terracottas from Ahicchatra, *Ancient India*, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey in India, Delhi, Vol. IV, pp. 133-135, Pl. XLVII B.

2 *The Classical Age*, p. 442.

3 *The Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1911-21, Pl. II, p. 86, Pl. XXXI, Nos. 13 and 14. In both these pieces, the goddess is two-armed as also in some of the terracottas from Ahicchatra.

4 *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow 1949, Vol. XXII, pp. 152-159.
Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta 1946, Vol. XXII, No. 2, pp. 154-155.

5 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Session held at Delhi*, 1948, pp. 96-100, where Dr. Patil admits only 6 hands of the goddess and not 8. Most of the Kushāṇa sculptures of this deity also present 6 hands, whereas the early terracotta-plaque from Nagar depicts 4 hands of Mahishamardinī. For Besnagar sculpture, see H. N. Dvivedi, *Gwalior Rājya Mẽ Murtikalā* (Hindi), p. 36, Fig. 47.

6 The specimens from Bhita are in stone. Some terracottas were also excavated at Ahicchatra but they are all later in date.

7 This has completely disappeared because of slight damage to the plaque at one place.

8 Wrongly printed as 'ivory' in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Adyar, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2, p. 37, last but one line.

9 *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sāmbhar*, p. 44, Pl. VI f. Sāmbhar is the ancient Sākambharī, situated in the Jaipur unit of Rajasthan. For the rounded face in pre-Kushāṇa terracottas, see Anand Coomaraswamy's contribution in *Marg*, Bombay, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 28, Figs. 19 and 20.

hand being placed on the back of the buffalo (*mahisha*).[1] The right upper hand holds a *triśūla* (trident). The tail of the animal appears erect while its front legs are raised. Its mouth is just below the lower left hand of the goddess. Her left leg is placed on the head of a recumbent lion. There is a *tilaka* on her forehead. The execution of the plaque is very successful though it is a poor-man's creation and not an example of aristocratic art. The majestic look of the goddess Mahishamardinī is superior to that seen on the later terracottas of the same goddess. It would appear that the Gupta artists of Bhita and Ahicchatra tried to copy the details of the *mahisha* (buffalo) from traditional representations such as our plaque from Nagar. The depiction of the lion as the vehicle of the goddess, in this early plaque from Nagar, is a feature of high interest. D. H. Bhattacharya[2] remarks that judging from various images, the earlier Mahishāsuramardinī figures seem to have taken their inspiration from some source other than the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* because the *Devī's* leonine mount is absent from some of the earliest images.

A reference may also be made to a badly baked hand-made pottery-plaque from Sāmbhar. According to D. R. Sahni[3] it represents a buffalo-headed male figure standing with a pole or spear held in the hand of the right outstretched arm. The fillets of clay across the breast and round the waist represent the sacred thread and the girdle ; an embossed cross appears under the right arm. The exact character of this figure is not ascertainable. Can it be a representation similar to the well known relief at Ellora, illustrating the victory of Durgā over the demon *Mahisha* ? The plaque dates from the Kushāṇa period.[4] This plaque is of course a fragmentary one and the lower part, below the knees of the deity, is not visible at all. It is hardly plausible to include this piece in the list of the early terracotta-reliefs of the goddess Mahishamardinī from Rajasthan. In fact this piece is a very crude specimen of folk art.

To sum up, we are in a position to assert, for the time being of course, that the Nagar plaque[5] is the earliest[6] summary representation of this aspect of the goddess. The archaeological museum at Āmer is fortunate in possessing this early example along with other fragmentary terracotta pieces of the same nature. The discovery of some more terracotta reliefs of the goddess from different parts of Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and South-Western U.P., can be expected.

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1 This is why the goddess is called the 'Slayer of the Buffalo-demon', i.e. *Mahishamardinī* or *Mahishāsuramardinī*.

2 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 338.

3 *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sāmbhar*, p. 30, Pl. VI (e).

4 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

5 I am obliged to Dr. S. P. Srivastava (Chief Superintendent, Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan) for a photograph of this terracotta.

6 Recently I examined the excavated material from the site of Nagar and found many terracottas of the goddess Mahishamardinī in that collection. This circumstance bears testimony to the popularity of her cult in the region of Nagar at so early a date.

TWO UNPUBLISHED ANTIQUITIES FROM THE SARDAR MUSEUM, JODHPUR

R. C. Agrawala

1. *A Śuṅga*[1] *Terracotta Head of a Lady* (Size 5¾ ins. x 5 ins.) Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3.

A few years ago Major-General R. C. Duncan, Commandant of the Jodhpur State Forces, discovered a very interesting and unusual terracotta in the Hazara District of the N.W.F. Province. It was later presented, by him, to the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. The material used is a fine red levigated clay. It is an attractive portrayal of the head of a robust lady having a prominent nose and dignified matronly countenance. She wears a typical head-dress (studded with ornaments), necklaces and ear-pendants. The treatment is both graphic and graceful. The face of the lady is markedly round and the coiffure tastefully arranged. The head ornament consists of two small side flowers and a bigger central one with a prominent pendant hanging in the centre of the forehead.[2] The central flower, moreover, is joined on both the sides with jewel-fillets. The motif of a floral ornament can also be seen in the ear-pendants. Even more interesting are the necklaces, the lower one consisting of three strings of jewels, whereas the upper one is a choker fitting closely below the chin. Though the portion below the neck is missing, the artistry and elegance of the head go to indicate a high standard of terracotta art.

2. *Padmapāṇi* (Size 22½ ins. x 16¾ ins.) Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2.

The excavation of the garden area at Maṇḍora (the ancient Māṇḍavyapura, 5 miles from Jodhpur) yielded a huge earthen jar and a heavy stone sculpture, both belonging to the Gupta period and now preserved in the Jodhpur Museum. The latter has been chiselled out of red sand-stone. It depicts a two armed male deity holding a lotus (*padma*) in his right hand. He wears an *ekāvalī*[3] round the neck which falls on to his chest. Most noteworthy is the wig-like hair dress of the deity. This type of hair dress, as is well known, was much favoured

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[1] Dr. V. S. Agrawala agrees with this view.
[2] Similar ornaments are worn by Hindu ladies even now.
[3] This is typical of Gupta Art and is also seen in the post-Gupta period.

by the artists of the Gupta period and is constantly seen in the terracotta art[1] of the Gupta age. Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2, is a fine specimen of the Gupta sculpture and it is unfortunate that the portion below the waist has not yet been recovered.

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[1] C. C. Das Gupta, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IX, No. 2, p. 319, Figs. 24, 25.
V. S. Agrawala, *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, Banaras, Vol. 45, No. 3, p. 218 and Plates.
Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Lucknow 1941.
Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta 1941.
M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

A LIVING HEREDITARY ARTIST OF THE MUGHAL SCHOOL

Anand Krishna

During Shāh Ālam II's reign (1759-1806) some Mughal princes of royal blood led the life of detenus at Banaras. In their entourage were a few master-painters who had followed them. These painters practised their art at the establishments of the detenus.

A young man named Sikhi, of Ahīr caste, came in contact with these Mughal painters and learnt their art from them. His descendants followed his profession and several of them became good artists though only a few names from this family survive. One Ustād Ram Prasad (died 1943) was a descendant of Sikhi in the fourth generation.

Ustād Ram Prasad was not only a fine painter of the late Mughal school, but also a philosopher, and a lover of poetry and folk music. His painting won him recognition even abroad. Of his 'Omar Khayām' illustrations Dr. Coomaraswamy remarked—'Very interesting and superior to Dulac'. It was singularly unfortunate that this accomplished artist, trained in the traditional Mughal school, had to earn his livelihood by copying old paintings and tinting photo-enlargements. But he was steeped in the traditions and practice of Mughal painting and his fine brush-work and sense of colour were never impaired.

Ustād Ram Prasad was a storehouse of information regarding the technique of Mughal painting. He knew all the various processes for preparing colours, brushes, *waslis*, etc., and he utilized his vast knowledge and excellent technique in restoring many of the Kalā Bhavan's old paintings. He was always wont to use the traditional terminology in describing the various styles of old Indian paintings. For instance, he would label 'Akbarī' paintings as being of the Herat school or of the *Kashmiri Kalam*. He also attributed Pahārī paintings to the influence of the *Kashmiri Kalam*. This terminology of *Kashmiri Kalam* is a pointer to a hitherto unknown school — some traces of which are now coming to light.

The descendants of Sikhi, though purists, were not averse to adopting even 19th century Mughal traditions. Thus Ram Prasad painted on ivory, a technique brought to India by the Firangīs. But he always emphasized fineness of brush-work and had no respect even for 'Akbarī' paintings if they lacked this quality. As to the 'Vernacular Schools', they had no appeal to him because of their technical crudities.

Shri Sharda Prasad, son of Ram Prasad, is a living artist in the Mughal tradition, being a worthy scion of a talented family. He began practising his art since the age of fourteen under the guidance

of his father and being naturally gifted, soon became adept in the traditional technique of Mughal painting.

Ram Prasad regarded the famous artist Honhāra (Hūnhār) of Shāh Jahān's court as his ideal because of that master's superb brush-work, and it is in fineness of brush-work that Sharda Prasad has also specialized following the teachings of his father.

Pl. XIX, Fig. 2, is a copy by Sharda Prasad of a Mughal drawing in the Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institute, America (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1). This drawing is of the late Akbar or early Jahāngīr period. The subject of the drawing, which depicts animals, birds and fishes in a landscape setting, is still undetermined, though there are references in Indian and Iranian stories which may be related to the subject-matter of this miniature.

Sharda Prasad's sensitive copy of this intricate and delicate drawing demonstrates the skill of this hereditary painter in the Mughal technique. The copy is 10 ins. x 8 ins. and lightly coloured as is the original.

Sharda Prasad, like his father, knows how to prepare the colours and brushes used by the old Mughal master-painters and is also highly skilled in the making of *hāshiyās* and the mounting of miniatures thereon. These hereditary artists have little scope today for their undoubted talents. The patronage of painters by the ruling houses was already on the wane even in the second half of the 19th century, and now there are no royal courts to which artists are attached. At one time every Rajput court and all the important Thikānās of Rajasthan patronized and maintained ateliers.

'Old times have changed, old manners gone'.

It is, however, not yet too late to avoid the complete extinction of the hereditary art of the Mughal, Rajasthani and Pahārī painters. Though a mere handful of these hereditary artists survive nevertheless State patronage can do much to ensure that their art is imparted to others who are willing to undergo the long and arduous apprenticeship necessary for that mastery over line and brush-work which characterizes, for instance, the work of men like Sharda Prasad.

These are the last of the *Musāwirs* (the master-painters) and it would be a tragedy if the traditions of the miniature art of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries are lost to us for ever.

Fig. 1. The Animal World. Early 17th century Mughal drawing. Late Akbar or early Jahāngīr period. Freer Gallery, Washington.

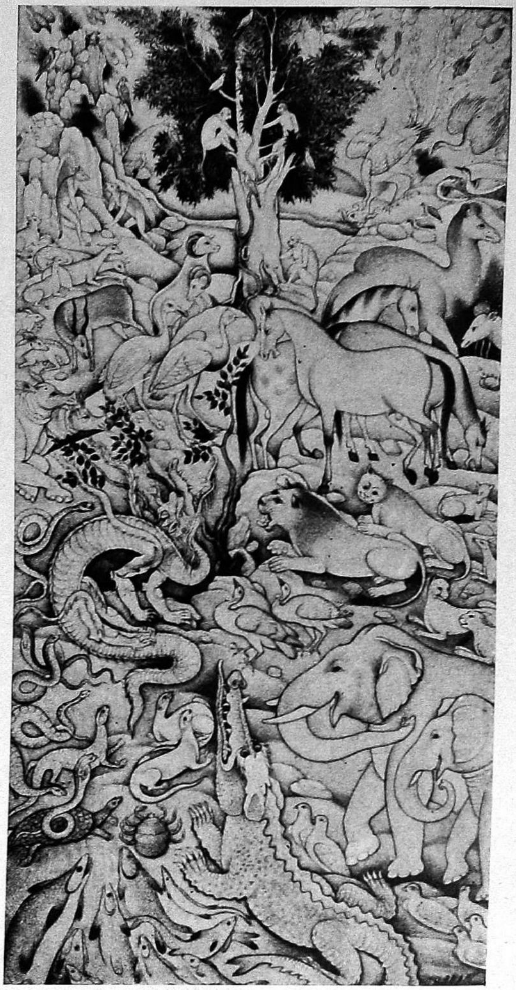


Fig. 2. Copy of Fig. 1 by Sharda Prasad. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

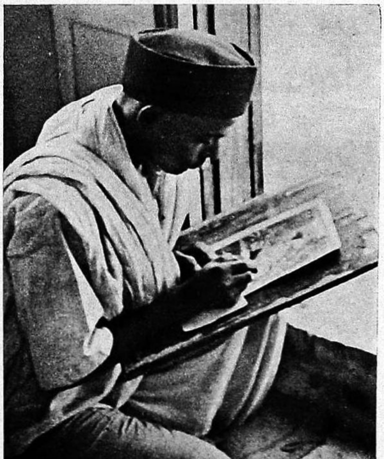


Fig. 3. Sharda Prasad at work.

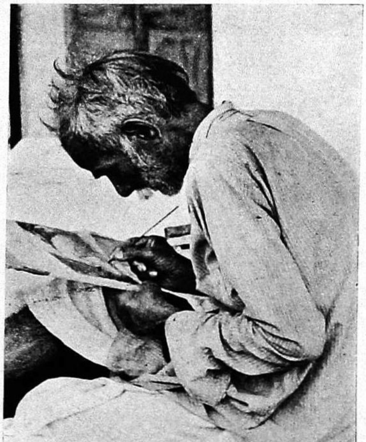


Fig. 4. Ram Prasad, father of Sharda Prasad.

Fig. 1. Woman plucking flowers. Kushāṇa period. 2nd century A.D. Mathura Museum. See p. 80.

Fig. 2. Ṛishabhadeva found at Pudukoṭṭai. *Circa* 1000 A.D. Pudukoṭṭai Museum.

Fig. 3. Jain images found at Pudukoṭṭai. Pudukoṭṭai Museum.

JAIN BRONZES FROM PUDUKOṬṬAI

T. S. SUNDARAM

PUDUKOṬṬAI State is a treasure house of monuments. As A. K. Nilkanta Sastri has observed, 'in all important centres in the Tamil country there were Jain temples', and in Pudukoṭṭai State we know that Sittaṇṇavasal, Tenimalai, Narttamalai, and Aluruṭṭimalai were occupied by the Jains, and that they lived in peace with the Hindus. There are a number of Jaina vestiges in Pudukoṭṭai territory. The bronzes seen in Pl. XX, Figs. 2 and 3 were taken from the site where H. H. The Raja's College, Pudukoṭṭai stands. The site must evidently have been a flourishing Jain centre.

The bronze relievo of the 24 Jain Tīrthaṅkaras arranged within a *tiruvāchika* frame with Ṛishabhadeva or Ādinātha in the centre (Pl. XX, Fig. 2) is of special interest. The *tiruvāchika* frame measures 14¼" x 7½" and the height of Ṛishabhadeva is 6¼". The image is an early one.

In Pl. XX, Fig. 3, the seated Mahāvīra measures 4" high, while the small Pārśvanātha is 4¼", and the big Pārśvanātha is 8" high.

NOTE :

Dr. U. P. Shah (consulting editor) is of opinion that Pl. XX, Fig. 2 can be dated *circa* 1000 A.D. and not earlier because in Jain metal sculpture the bull-faced attendant and the *Yakshi* Chakreśvarī are not introduced in this form prior to *circa* 1000 A.D. Dr. Shah also suggests that it may be that the bronze did not originally belong to Pudukoṭṭai area but came from some area under the rule of the Rāshṭrakūṭas or of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyani.

The small Pārśvanātha and the seated Jina in Pl. XX, Fig. 3 are regarded by Dr. Shah as very late images, but the big standing Pārśvanātha in Pl. XX, Fig. 3, is, according to him, an early image though he does not suggest any definite date, not having seen the bronze itself.

WOMAN PLUCKING FLOWERS

K. D. BAJPAI

THE Kushāṇa railing pillars of Mathura occupy an important place in the sculptural art of India. These pillars have been discovered in large numbers in and around Mathura city. They depict, in an interesting manner, the joyous life of men and women and throw welcome light on the social and religious conditions of the Kushāṇa period. The Mathura artists have particularly portrayed, in bold relief, female figures engaged in dance, music, toilet, bathing and playing with balls.

A few pillars from Kankālī Tilā, Mathura, exhibit the gathering of flowers by women, a pastime in which ladies were greatly interested. Numerous references are found in ancient Indian literature to the gathering of flowers (*pushpaprachayana* or *kusumāvachaya*) by women. A railing pillar (ht. 2′—2″) from Maholi (ancient Madhupurī), reproduced here for the first time (Pl. XX, Fig. 1), is a beautiful specimen of the delicate sport referred to above. It is made of the local red sandstone of Mathura. The woman here is standing under a full-blossomed Ashoka tree with a flower basket held in her left hand. The right hand is raised up and is engaged in plucking flowers. She is all attention to her work which is clear from her facial expression. The long braid of hair (*ekaveṇī*) is falling on the back and is touching the hips. She wears armlets, long ear-pendants and a beaded waist-belt (*mekhalā*). But for the scanty scarf falling from the left side of her waist, she is nude. It is indeed one of the loveliest pieces of Kushāṇa art which flourished for over two centuries at Mathura.

PAINTINGS FROM NALAGARH

M. S. Randhawa

Though large collections of paintings have been discovered from the Kāngrā Valley, particularly in the ancient capitals of Guler, Kāngrā and Nūrpur States, not many paintings have come to notice from the Hill States bordering the Kāngrā Valley. It was felt that some type of art activity must have been going on in these areas also, on account of the influence of Kāngrā art, but actually few paintings have been described, and these too are from Maṇḍi and Kulu. The object of this paper is to introduce some paintings from Nalagarh which are ascribed to two artists.

The State of Nalagarh, now merged in Pepsu, is bounded on the north by Bilaspur State and Una tahsil of Hoshiarpur District, on the south and west by Kharār and Rupar tahsils of Ambala District, and on the east by Mahlog and Bāghal States now merged in Himachal Pradesh. Nalagarh Valley is a long strip bounded by the heavily eroded range of Shivaliks towards south-west, and the spurs of the outer Himalayas to the north-east. The Valley is drained by Sirsā *nadī*, which takes its birth in the ranges above Kalka, and ultimately joins the Sutlej river.

NALAGARH

The town of Nalagarh is approached by a metalled road which branches from the Ambala-Kalka road near Panjaur. During the monsoon it remains closed for many days as ravines and hill torrents over which the road passes are in flood. An easier approach is from Rupar by a metalled road which diverges from the Rupar-Nangal road near Ghanoulī. The feudal fortress of Ghanolā, with a row of tall eucalyptus trees below it, is perched on a shelf above the village of Ghanolā, also known as Sainī Majra, populated mostly by Sainī Sikh farmers. The Sirsā *nadī* is crossed by a masonry bridge built by Raja Surendar Singh, which has provided an all-weather access to Nalagarh. To the left is an important landmark, the fortress of Palāsī, with the cone-like Nainadevī hill in the background. This ancient fortress commanding the Nalagarh plain was one of the favourite residences of the Rajas of Nalagarh on account of its strategic situation. Raja Rām Saran Singh greatly improved it in 1815. It is said that he returned the Sātgarha forts to the Raja of Bilaspur, and in lieu thereof obtained an indemnity of Rs. 1 lakh, which he spent on building the outer battlements of the Palāsī fortress.

Nalagarh State was founded in 1100 A.D. by Ajai Chand, eldest son of Raja Kahān Chand of Bilaspur who conquered the Nalagarh territory from one Handu, a Brahman Thākur of Hindur. Nalagarh, the present capital, was founded in the 15th century on a site which was

partly a dry bed of a hill torrent; hence the name Nalagarh, i.e. 'fortress on a hill torrent'. At the entrance of the town is a hospital and a school. An ancient gate guards the entrance to the town. A number of houses are scattered at the base of the hill, and the bazaar, which is small and decaying, is mostly populated by petty shop-keepers such as *halwais* and goldsmiths. As we climb up there is a temple of Durgā to the left, said to have been built by Raja Rām Saran Singh. To the right, the palaces of the Raja comprise an imposing pile of buildings on a precipitous spur overlooking the town. The oldest building in the palace is a *Diwānkhānā* built by Raja Sansār Chand in 1570 A.D. The new palace of the Raja is a handsome white building and a national flag fluttering over it indicates the change in times and the social order.

RAJA RĀM SARAN SINGH

Rām Saran Singh was a powerful Raja, who was paramount from Palāsī to Mattiana, and extended his domain eastwards as far as Ajmirgarh on the Jamuna, while the Subathu fort also came under his control.

In 1803 the Raja of Bilaspur invited the Gurkhas to aid the Hill Rajas in their fight against the forces of the famous Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. Nalagarh fell on the way to Kāngrā, and the Gurkhas broke the power of Rām Saran Singh also. After withstanding a siege by the Gurkhas in Rāmshahr fort for 3 years, Rām Saran Singh fled to Basālī in Hoshiarpur, from where after a stay of three to four months he retired to Palāsī fort, where he lived for ten years. The Gurkhas were finally defeated by Sir David Ochterlony in 1814, and their leader Malaun Bhagta Thappa was slain. Rām Saran Singh was restored to power by the British, and he returned to his ancestral possession of Nalagarh.

In 1848 Bije Singh, the eldest son, succeeded Rām Saran Singh. He died in 1857, and the State lapsed to the British Government. In 1860 the British Government restored the State to Uggar Singh (Pl. XXII, Fig. 5), one of the sons of Raja Rām Saran Singh. The pedigree of Rām Saran Singh's descendants is given below:

Raja Rām Saran Singh (1788-1848)

- Raja Bije Singh (1848-1857)
- Fateh Singh
  - Kesarī Singh
    - Bhagwān Singh
      - Govardhan Singh
        - Brij Mohan Singh
- Raja Uggar Singh (1860-1876)
  - Raja Isrī Singh (1877)
- Bir Singh

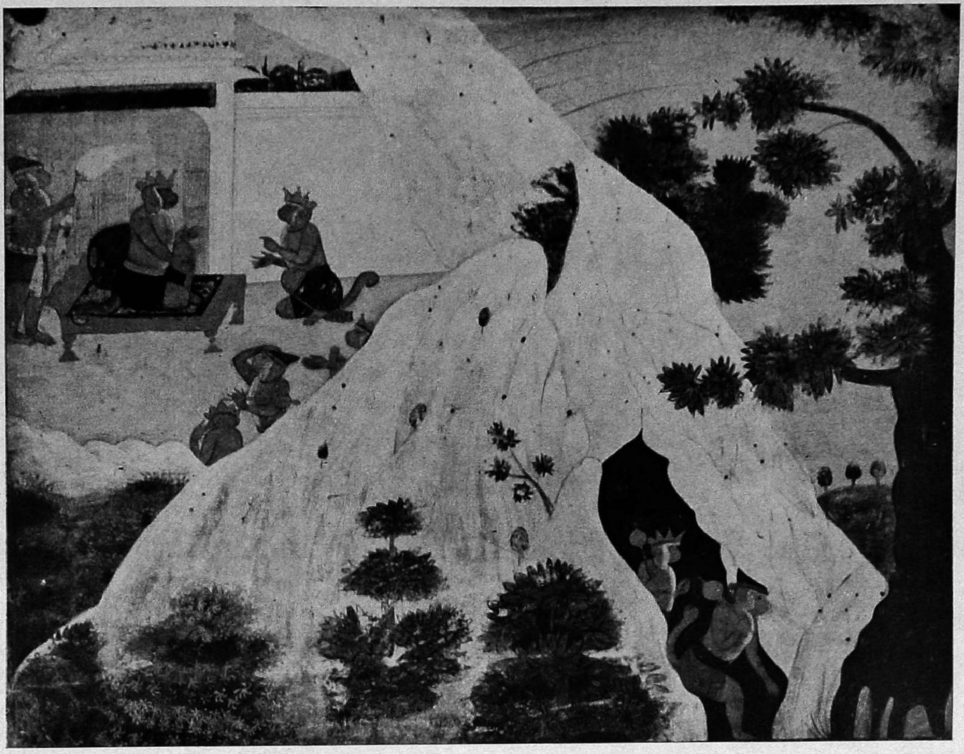


Fig. 1. Illustration to the *Rāmāyana*. By a Nalagarh artist. Late 18th or early 19th century. Chandigarh Museum, Punjab.

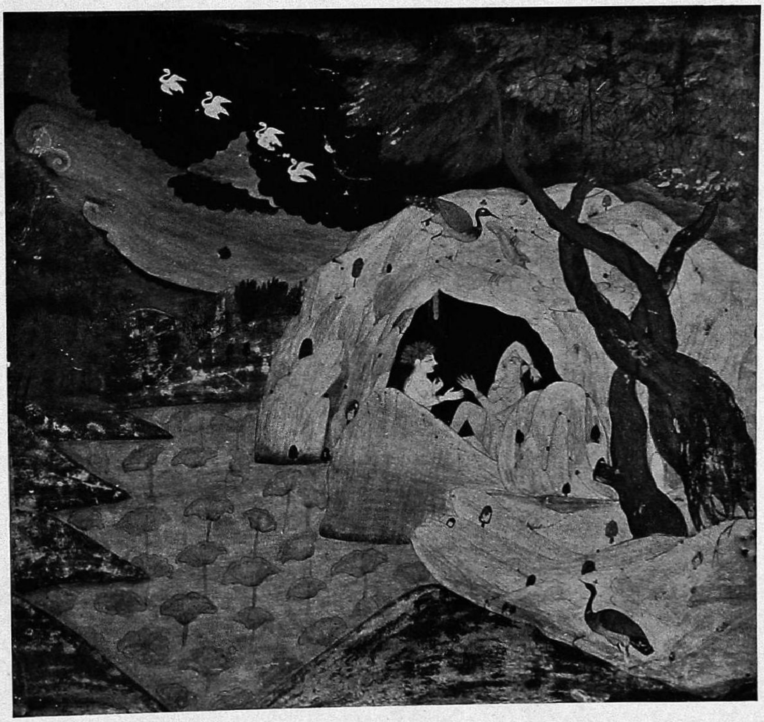


Fig. 2. Illustration to the *Rāmāyana*. By a Nalagarh artist. Late 18th or early 19th century. Chandigarh Museum, Punjab. Same series as Fig. 1.

Fig. 3. Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa in Paṅchvaṭī forest. By a Nalagarh artist. Chandigarh Museum, Punjab.

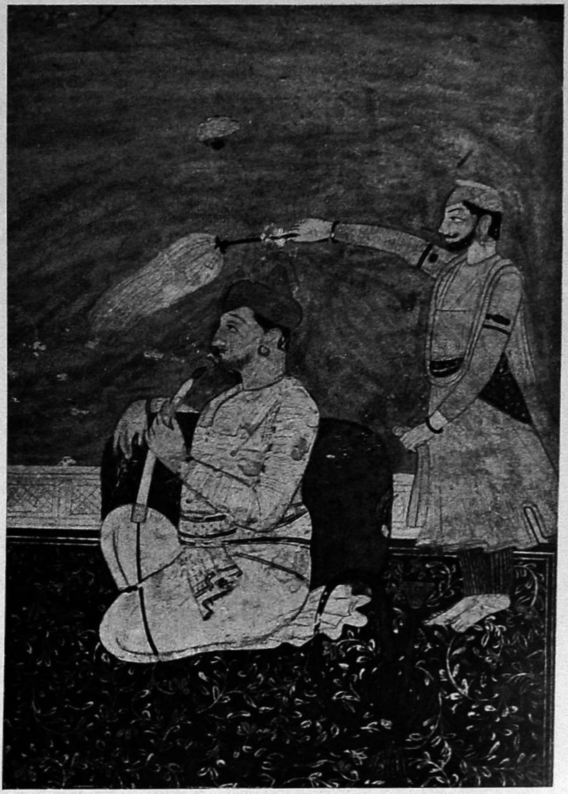


Fig. 4. Raja Rām Saran Singh of Nalagarh (1788-1848 A.D.). Chandigarh Museum, Punjab.

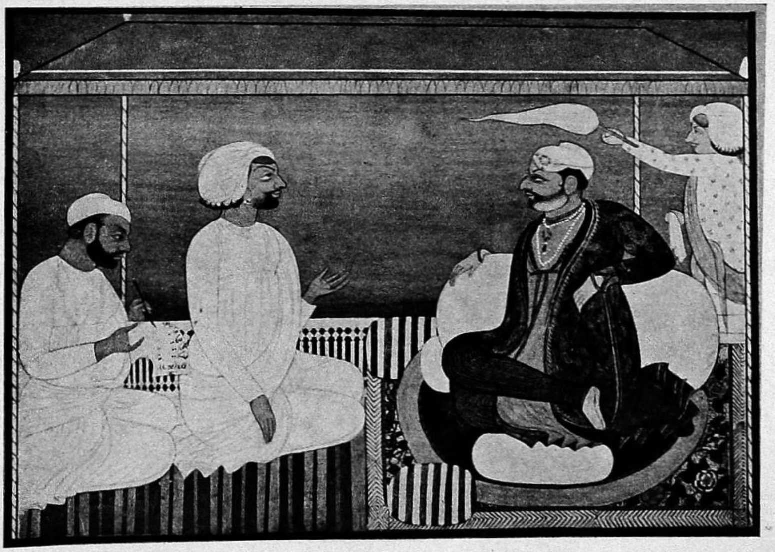


Fig. 5. Portrait of Uggar Singh of Nalagarh (1860-1876 A.D.). Chandigarh Museum, Punjab.

NALAGARH PAINTING

When the art of painting was flourishing in the Kāngrā Valley under the patronage of Maharaja Sansār Chand of Kāngrā and Raja Parkash Chand of Guler, Nalagarh was ruled by Raja Rām Saran Singh. Rām Saran Singh ascended the *gādī* in 1788 and died in 1848 at the age of eighty-six after a reign of sixty years. This is the period during which Kāngrā painting flourished in the Hill States of the Kāngrā Valley. The Rajas of Nalagarh and Kāngrā also had marital relations from time to time. A daughter of Raja Rām Saran Singh was married to Raja Parmodh Chand, a son of Maharaja Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. Raja Isrī Singh, grandson of Rām Saran Singh, was allied by marriage with the houses of Guler and Kāngrā. These marriage ties must have promoted cultural relations between the two States, and may have resulted in exchange of artists. At least the work of Kāngrā artists must have come to the notice of Nalagarh artists.

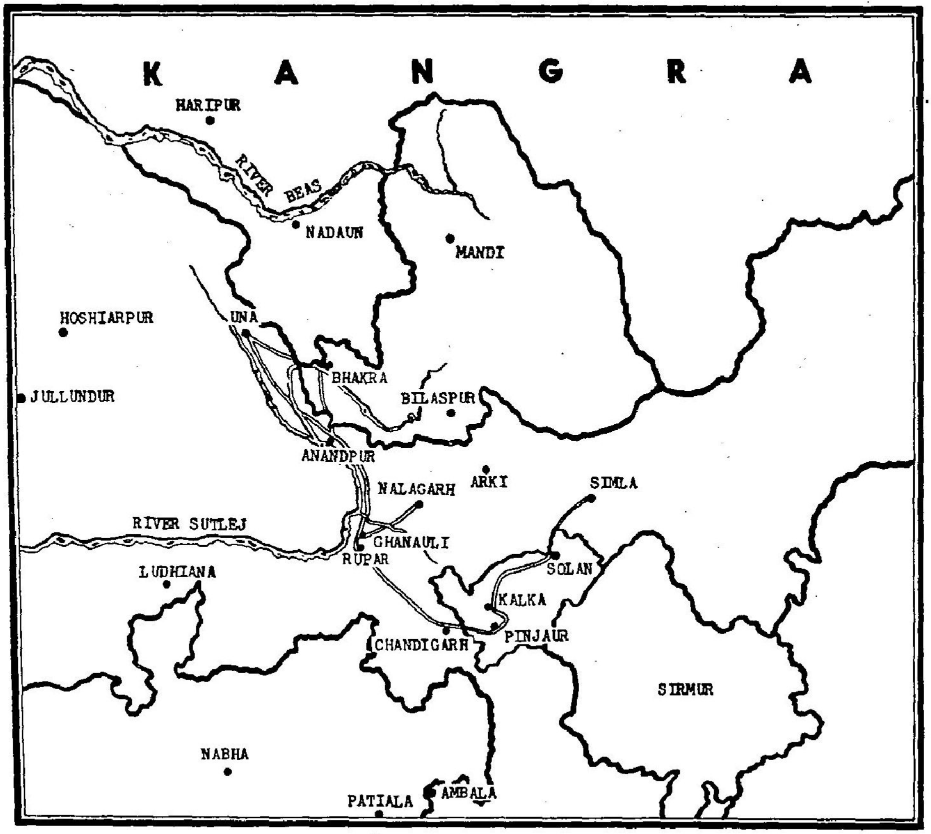
COLLECTION OF KANWAR BRIJ MOHAN SINGH

The residence of Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh, a descendant of Raja Rām Saran Singh, who possesses a collection of paintings, is an ancient building of small bricks with carved doors. As in the rest of the town, an air of decay hangs over this house. We were received in a drawing room (its windows fitted with blue and red glass-panes) by Brij Mohan Singh, a man of about 50 years of age. Apart from paintings, Brij Mohan Singh also possesses a collection of manuscripts in Sanskrit, chiefly *Shrimad Bhāgavata*, *Harivaṁśa*, *Moharat Chiṅtā Maṇī*, Bihari Lāl's *Satsāiyā* and books on astrology. In this collection, apart from the work of two artists in Kāngrā style, there are several paintings in a primitive style which was prevalent in the Hills before the evolution of the Kāngrā style, and which has been described as the so-called *Basohlī Kalam*. It seems that this style of painting was prevalent in all the Hill States of the Punjab Himalaya in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Even after the emergence of the Kāngrā style, it continued to flourish side by side. The walls of Brij Mohan Singh's sitting-room were studded with antlers of *Bārā Singhas*, and the only other decorations were the portraits of Raja Rām Saran Singh and Kesarī Singh. Rām Saran Singh is shown as a handsome middle-aged person of fair complexion, with a thin pointed beard, holding the stem of a *hookah*. A prominent nose, a firm face, and a strong chin mark him out as a person with singular determination and strength of character (Pl. XXII, Fig. 4).

TWO ARTISTS

It was during the reigns of Raja Rām Saran Singh and Bije Singh, i.e., from 1788 to 1857, that two well-known painters, Hari Singh, a Rajput, and Narsingh Dās, a Brahman, worked at

Nalagarh. The paintings of these artists were in the possession of Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh who sold them to the Punjab Government for their Museum at Chandigarh. It is possible to distinguish the work of the two artists in this collection. The paintings, Pl. XXI, Figs. 1 and 2, are by one of them, and Pl. XXII, Fig. 3 and Pl. XXIII, Fig. 6 by the other; but it cannot be said which group is by Hari Singh, and which by Narsingh Dās. The work of both these artists is characterised by their love of nature, and they have drawn forest trees and creepers, as well as birds and animals, with feeling.



The work of the artist who painted the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Pl. XXI, Figs. 1 and 2) is marked by rugged landscapes. His paintings have a dark blue border, and are notable for their characterisation of monkeys who served as soldiers of Rāma when he invaded Laṅkā. The monkey-generals and courtiers of Sugrīva are delineated with quaint vigour. The treatment

of trees is sometimes decorative (Pl. XXI, Fig. 1) but the love of the painter of this *Rāmāyaṇa* series for natural effects is eloquently depicted in Pl. XXI, Fig. 2, where Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are shown on the shore of the lake Pampā. It is thus that this lake is described in the *Uttar Rāmacharitra Mānas* of Tulsī Dās.

The Lord went on to the shore of the lake named Pampā, beautiful and deep. Its water was as pure as the hearts of saints and round it were built four charming flights of steps ; and everywhere all kinds of animals were drinking the water like crowds of beggars at a generous man's door. Under its dense covering of lotus leaves the water could no more easily be discerned than the impersonal Absolute veiled by illusion. In the lake's profound depths all the fish enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity, just as days pass on in peace for righteous men.

Lotuses of diverse hues were in full bloom, and swarms of buzzing bees made sweet melody. Water-fowl, peacocks and swans were uttering their notes as though they saw the Lord and were singing His praises. So many were the chakavās and cranes and other birds that no one could describe them ; they had to be seen to be believed. The charming notes of all these lovely birds seemed to invite the travellers as they came. Nearby the lake, hermits had thatched their huts, and all around stood magnificent forest trees, campā and maulasirī, kadamba, tamāla, pātala, jackfruit, dhāk and mango. All sorts of trees were there with new leaves and blossoms, and swarms of bees were humming round them. Cool, soft and fragrant winds were ever blowing there most pleasantly. 'Kuhoo! Kuhoo!' sang the koels, and sages broke off their contemplation at the sound of their melodious notes.

However, the artist who painted 'Krishna Playing the Flute' (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 6) and the single miniature of Rām Chandra, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā in the Panchvaṭī forest (Pl. XXII, Fig. 3) was undoubtedly superior to the artist who has painted a regular series, depicting various anecdotes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, of which Pl. XXI, Figs. 1 and 2, are examples. The painting 'Krishna Playing the Flute' (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 6) greatly resembles a painting from Bilaspur, which has been published as Pl. 36 in the present writer's album *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955. The treatment of trees, foliage and blossoms, as well as of birds and animals, is very similar in both the paintings. The same is the case with the miniature showing Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā in Panchvaṭī forest. Flowering shrubs with white and pink blossoms are seen in both the paintings, and there is also a similarity between the faces of Krishna and the cowherds, and those of Rām Chandra and Lakshmaṇa. It may well be that the same artist was patronised by the Rajas of Nalagarh and by the neighbouring State of Bilaspur. Plate XXIII, Fig. 7, is a theme well known in later Mughal painting and is treated by a Nalagarh artist in his own idiom. It was a popular subject with Kāngrā painters.

Editors' Note

A portrait of Raja Rām Saran is reproduced by Vogel in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, p. 207, Pl. 1, to accompany his article 'Portrait Painting in Kāngrā and Chamba'. The inscription on this portrait reads *Shri Rājā Rāmsaran Haḍuriya* (*Hiṇḍurea*).

Portrait of Rām Saran from *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, p. 207, Pl. 1.

Fig. 6. Krishna Playing the Flute. By a Nalagarh artist. Chandigarh Museum, Punjab.

Fig 7. Lady chasing a cat which has caught a pet parrot. By a Nalagarh artist. Chandigarh Museum, Punjab.

Fig. 1. The Brahmā from Elephanta. Late 6th-early 7th century A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 2. Side view of Fig. 1.

Fig. 3. Back view of Fig. 1 showing the fourth head.

Fig. 4. Entire figure of Brahmā from Elephanta showing the pot-belly.

THE IMAGE OF BRAHMĀ FROM ELEPHANTA

S. N. Chakravarti

The fragmentary four-faced stone image reproduced here (Pl. XXIV, Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4) was discovered on the Island of Elephanta in Bombay harbour. The detached pedestal possibly belonged to the image. Both are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Of all the caves in the Island of Elephanta the Main Cave is the most important. It is hewn out of trap rock. The body of the cave is supported by columns with the fluted or pot-shaped capitals. In this decoration the columns resemble those found in the caves at Bādāmi dated Śaka 500 = 578 A.D., in the reign of the Chāḷukya king Kīrtivarman I[1] and also those found in the Kailāsanātha temple at Ellora built by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa I who ruled *circa* 758-773 A.D. Both the Kailāsanātha and the Main Cave include many similar compositions. On the evidence of sculptural art, however, the Elephanta sculptures may be ascribed to the sixth and seventh centuries; the Ellora sculptures are more florid in style, and less accomplished in technique, and are assignable to a somewhat later period.

It is not known which particular cave the present image came from. The image was found outside the Main Cave.[2] It is badly damaged; the arms are broken and it is not possible to say how many the image originally possessed. Thus arose a controversy about the identification of the image. As it is a free-standing image it must have had a pedestal.

The image was first taken by Coomaraswamy to be a representation of Brahmā. But afterwards he revised his opinion and identified the image with Sadāśiva, probably following Rao.[3] Later, Shastri[4] for the first time adduced grounds for the identification of the image as Sadāśiva.

According to Shastri it would be incorrect to regard the image as a representation of Brahmā and opine that the image was originally enshrined in the Main Cave which was afterwards turned into a Śaiva temple by installing the *liṅga* which is now found there. Shastri maintained that the sculptures *in situ* show that the Main Cave was a Śaiva shrine. So, in

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1 R. D. Banerji, *Bas reliefs of Bādāmi*, Calcutta 1924, p. 2. The inscription is of his brother Maṅgaleśa.

2 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London 1927, p. 100. The image was first published by Coomaraswamy in *Visvakarmā*, London 1914, Pt. 8, Pl. XLII.

3 T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras 1916, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 373.

4 Hirananda Shastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, Delhi 1934, pp. 21 ff.

his opinion, a more natural assumption is that the present image represents Sadāśiva instead of Brahmā. Besides, a more convincing proof, according to him, is supplied by the pedestal. It bears a much worn Kanarese inscription which, according to Shastri, is written in characters of about the ninth century A.D. The inscription, as read by Shastri, runs as follows:

Baḷadāri pratishṭhā Śiva . . . rsāmikami,

meaning 'Consecrated by Baḷadāri... Śiva of'. In Shastri's opinion, in view of this mention of Śiva, it would not be correct to regard the image as a representation of Brahmā.

The inscription is so faint and worn that I am unable to check the reading given by Shastri.[1] Again, the writing, as it appears from the traces of letters, does not appear to be very markedly cursive. I would, therefore, assign the writing to the 6th and 7th centuries instead of the 8th and 9th centuries.[2] See Pl. XXIVA, Fig. 6.

The *Uttara-kāmikāgama* states that Sadāśiva should have five faces and ten arms. There are several Eastern Indian examples of the ten-armed representation of the god Sadāśiva. Sadāśiva was the tutelary deity of the Sena kings of Bengal and is figured on the seal attached to their copper-plate grants. In representations of this particular type the deity is seated cross-legged on a lotus in meditation holding a number of weapons and attributes in hand. Usually in such images not more than three out of the five faces of the deity are shown. There is, however, one sculpture in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in which an extra, or fourth head is shown at the back.[3]

The Elephanta image is a standing figure. It has four faces, but the arms are all broken. So the identification of the image with Sadāśiva is beset with great difficulties. Fortunately, something is left on the pedestal, which gives us the solitary clue to the identification of the image. On the pedestal are still preserved the right foot of the deity and, to its right, two webbed feet, each foot containing three claws in front. Surely, the webbed feet are of the *haṁsa* (swan), the vehicle of Brahmā. See Pl. XXIVA, Fig. 5.

Editors' Note

Mr. Chakravarti's date for Elephanta, namely *circa* 7th century is to be preferred to the usual 8th century dating which most writers have adopted. Hirananda Shastri also pointed out

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1 Two estampages of the inscription on the pedestal were sent to Dr. D. C. Sircar, present Government Epigraphist for India, for verification of the reading given by Shastri. Dr. Sircar, however, is only sure of the word *pratishṭhā*. According to him the first four *aksharas* look like *bradadadi* or *bradadati* The second word is *pratishṭhā*. The last two *aksharas* may be *sala* (for *silā*) or *sava* (for *siva*). No reliance therefore can be placed on the inscription for the purpose of identifying the image.

2 Cf. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (Eng. Trans.), p. 63.

3 *Report of The Archaeological Survey of India*, 1936-37, pp. 130 ff., Pl. XXXV.

Fig. 7. Detail of Brahmā from Elephanta. Side view. Left face (facing image).

Fig. 5. Pedestal showing the swan's webbed foot on left.

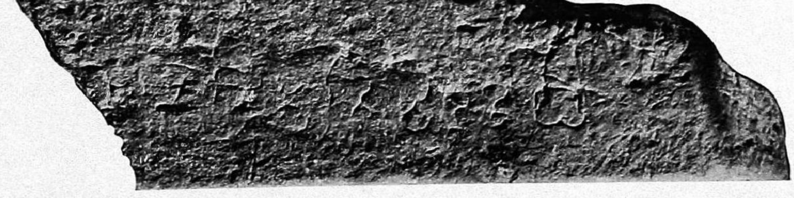

Fig. 6. Inscription on pedestal (Fig. 5).

Fig. 1. Sketch of a bull by Nandalal Bose. National Gallery of Art, New Delhi. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. See pp. 90 and 91.

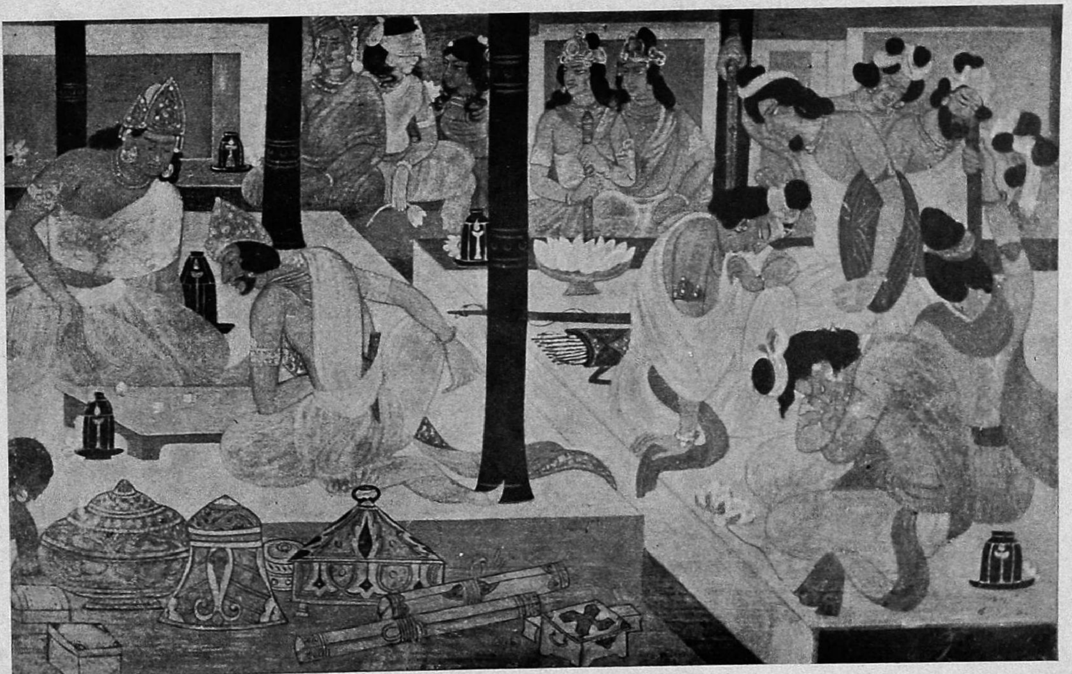

Fig. 2. The Gambling Scene from the *Mahābhārata* by Nandalal Bose. Tempera on wood. Possession Karl Khandalavala. See pp. 90 and 91.

in his *Guide to Elephanta*, 1934, that it was not feasible to date this shrine as late as the 8th century. The marked purity of plastic form at Elephanta, which Mr. Chakravarti notes, is one of its striking characteristics and this purity of form, along with other characteristics, makes the 8th century dating unlikely. The Dhumar Lena cave temple (Cave No. 29) at Ellora, known popularly as *Sītā ki Nāhani*, is obviously inspired by the Elephanta shrine and a careful comparison between the mid or late 8th century Rāshṭrakūṭa sculptures of the Dhumar Lena with those of the Elephanta temple should indicate that the latter cannot be far removed from the mid 7th century. A recent publication, H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 1955 (Ed. Joseph Campbell), repeats the old date ascribing Elephanta to the 8th century, while another recent publication, Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, 1953, p. 187, follows Burgess[1] in ascribing Elephanta to the 8th or 9th century. The 9th century for Elephanta is, however, a stylistic impossibility, a fact which the author seems to have overlooked. Prof. Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, 1955, suggests 7th to 8th century.

As far as palaeographical evidence is concerned the inscription on the pedestal can afford no definite clue to the date. Mr. Chakravarti has had the advantage of examining the pedestal and the estampages very carefully and according to him, if the style of the letters indicates anything, it indicates a date earlier than the 8th century.

The pedestal (Pl. XXIVA, Fig. 5) was found in close proximity to the sculpture, and it is reasonable to assume that it is the pedestal of the image in question. If this be so, then the presence of the swan's webbed feet go a long way to indicate that the sculpture is of Brahmā. Mr. Chakravarti also considered the proportions of the pedestal and of the broken leg thereon and came to the conclusion that there is no obstacle to regarding the pedestal as belonging to the image in question. In fact there is no other known fragment to which it could belong.

We would like to point out a further factor in support of Mr. Chakravarti's identification of the sculpture as Brahmā. All the figures of Śiva at Elephanta have the stomach tightly modelled and there is no suggestion whatever of a pot-belly. The four-faced sculpture (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 4), however, has a distinct pot-belly, a characteristic of several Brahmā images. Shri Ramachandran, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India, who recently examined the image was also of opinion that its identification as Brahmā was to be preferred to the identification of the image as Sadāśiva. The pedestal-inscription on which Hirananda Shastri has placed reliance for his identification of the image as Sadāśiva may be discounted as it is not possible to assert that the name *Śiva* appears therein.

The image as it exists at present is 49 inches high.

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[1] Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, London 1880, p. 467. Burgess regarded Elephanta as late 8th or early 9th century, while Fergusson observes in a footnote that he would place it *circa* 750 A.D.

NANDALAL BOSE

G. VENKATACHALAM

WHAT makes an artist or his works really great? His technique? His originality? His aesthetic sensibility? Or, his individual uniqueness?

Judged by the last standard, Nandalal Bose is a great artist and his works, whether they be finished murals or unfinished sketches, are really great.

His art may not have the rich aesthetic flavour of Abanindranath Tagore; the versatility of Gaganendranath; the technical excellence of K. Venkatappa or the robust character of D. P. Roy Choudhury.

Nevertheless, Nandalal's art reveals his greatness both as man and artist. His serenity, sincerity and sobriety find perfect expression in his art. He is not only a born artist but a teacher of art *par excellence.*

A story is told of how he became an art student under A.N. Tagore, which, if true, reveals the man. When he approached his future teacher for admission into the Government School of Art in Calcutta, Mr. Tagore asked him if he knew how to draw.

Came the reply, sudden and sharp: *'Sir, if I knew how to draw, why should I come to you?'* This bold answer cemented their *guru-chela* relationship at the very outset; and as it happened, Nandalal succeeded, so to speak, as Tagore's heir to the world of art, founded by him in Bengal, in the early years of this century.

Of India's great artists who helped to extend this little kingdom of art and beauty all over India, Nandalal is next only to the Tagores. While the latter conquered India through their songs, music, poetry and painting, the former did so through his art pupils who spread the message of their master through brush and colour.

Nandalal's students are to be found all over the land, either as art masters or practising artists. Master Mashai, as he was fondly called by his pupils, is indeed a born teacher.

Nandalal's distinctive contribution to Indian art is the revitalising of the *ashrama* ideal in art education, and training his students to discover themselves and not be mere imitators. Only a Nandalal could succeed in turning out pupils of the virile type of Rāmkinkar Baij or Sudhir Khastagir. Nandalal's technique as a teacher was first to make his students discover their heritage and then to discover their own innate genius. The tree must have its roots deep in the soil if it is to grow to its full stature.

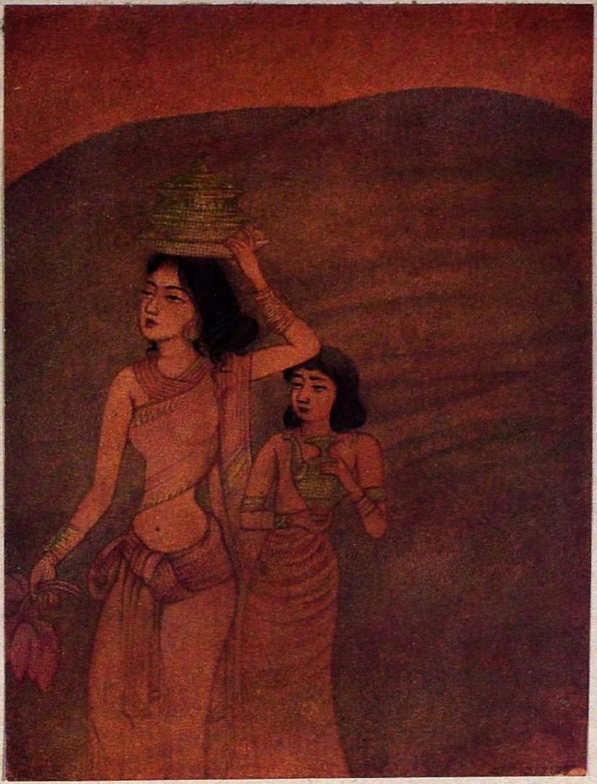

PLATE F. 'Sujātā' by Nandalal Bose. Same size. Water colour—wash technique. National Gallery of Art, New Delhi. Formerly in the B. N. Treasurywala collection, Bombay.

A striking feature of his art is the dynamic quality of his *line*. In this, he is nearest to the Ajantan masters; in fact, he is the most Ajantan among modern painters. There is no doubt that he has been deeply influenced by this art of ancient India (Pl. XXV, Fig. 2).

We see it in every detail of his art. Not that he has no originality; he has that in abundance. In fact, it is given to few artists to invest well-known themes with the charm and freshness of a new conception; and Nandalal has coined new types and forms from the richness of his imagination and the depth of his consciousness.

As a mural painter, as a book-illustrator, as a designer of decors and as a painter of myths and legends, he has few rivals among his contemporaries. Art has been to him a life-long apprenticeship, and like Venkatappa, he resents being called an artist but prefers to be known as a life-long student of art. This is no mock modesty on their part. Both always mean what they say.

Nandalal's earliest paintings have a lyrical flavour and a sensitive quality, as witness the delicate study of '*Sujātā*' (Pl. F). This village maid of Urvilla, fed the famished body of the Buddha with tender devotion, day after day, till her milk-boiled rice gave Gautama the necessary strength to sit under the Bodhi tree till he became the Enlightened One.

The very colour scheme is suggestive of the mood of the maid and her mission. Deep anxiety and a serene wistfulness light up the young maid's face, as she treads her way to the royal ascetic's resting place. The tender limbs and graceful arms, carrying the life-giving food, are etched with fine feeling, suggesting strength at the same time.

The '*Bull*' is a sketch executed in one of his lighter moods; such sketches were a regular hobby with him, and there must be thousands of them scattered all over the land (Pl. XXV, Fig. 1). The virile quality of his line-work is easily discernible here. Both these were once in the B. N. Treasurywala collection, Bombay, and are now in the National Art Gallery, New Delhi.

The son of an estate manager under the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Nandalal Bose was born in a village called Kharagpur in the district of Monghyr in Bihar. After his Inter examination, he came to Calcutta in 1908 to study art under Abanindranath Tagore, who was then the Vice-Principal of the Government School of Art there.

He was the third pupil to be taken by Tagore, as he had already Surendranath Gangoly and Ishwari Prasad as his students. The latter was a hereditary painter from Patna, trained in the Mughal style of painting, and was both a part-time teacher and pupil under Tagore. Asit Haldar, K. Venkatappa, Samrendranath Gupta and Suren Kar joined thereafter. These students later became pioneers of the renaissance movement in Indian painting.

In 1922, he joined Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan and became the head of the Kala-bhavan, which post he relinquished a few years ago when he became too feeble in health to carry

on his selfless work. Though physically crippled, he is mentally alert, and is busy dictating his life story, which one day may see the light of day.

A grateful Government offered him the first Chairmanship of the Lalit Kalā Akadami which, on account of his ill-health, he had to refuse ; the President of the Republic of India conferred on him the title of Padma Bhushan for his signal services to Indian art and culture. His one big ambition in life was to see India free, and it must be admitted that he did contribute, in his own way, a little towards the attainment of that freedom.

The Lalit Kalā Akadami has justly honoured him by bestowing on him the Fellowship of the Akadami. In fact it is the first Fellowship which the Akadami has conferred.

RĀMKINKAR BAIJ

S. A. KRISHNAN

'WHERE can I find a studio as spacious as the outdoors ?'. So exclaimed Rāmkinkar Baij to an interrogator. This yearning for open space characterises the best work of this sculptor. The magnitude and medium of his sculptures render them unavailable to a vast majority of art lovers who cannot go all the way to Santiniketan where only his sculptures can be seen. His sculptures just do not fit into the compressed space and atmosphere of the drawing room. Because of their unwieldy size and weight, his concerte sculptures are hardly seen at the usual exhibitions or anywhere outside Santiniketan (Pl. XXVIA, Fig. 2). One has to go, therefore, to Santiniketan to have an idea of the grandeur and magnificence of these colossal concrete works of Rāmkinkar. Here one sees them in an atmosphere of which they are part — vast stretching spaces of land and the limitless sky.

Rāmkinkar Baij was born in 1910 in a village near Baskara, West Bengal. What was only a noticeable aptitude for sculpture in his childhood became a passion as he grew older. He came to Santiniketan in 1925. The freedom and uninhibited opportunity afforded at Santiniketan in those days was welcome to Rāmkinkar who is regarded today as one of our most outstanding sculptors. After a few years of initial study he took to modelling seriously and was soon on the way to being a sound sculptor. He was the first to introduce sculpture and modelling in the Kalā Bhavan, Santiniketan. He is now a member of the staff of the Kalā Bhavan. Although Rāmkinkar is essentially known as a sculptor he is also a painter of considerable merit, and the painter is not very different from the sculptor.

Except for a brief interlude in the Government Polytechnic, Delhi, he has all along lived in Santiniketan. There he has the opportunity for unhampered work and is free to exercise his highly imaginative and individualistic faculties as an artist. He sells little, and works without any expectation of reward. He can be described as a 'modern' but it would be more right to regard him as a 'contemporary' with all the implications of that term.

The bust entitled 'Miss Madhura Singha' (Pl. XXVIA, Fig. 1) was done in 1945. The medium is cast stone, height 21 inches.

This unusually striking and vigorous bust belongs to a class by itself in portrait sculpture. In a sense it is different from his other well-known works, particularly in treatment, but it is

Fig. 1. Portrait bust of Miss Madhura Singha by Rāmkinkar Baij. Cast stone.

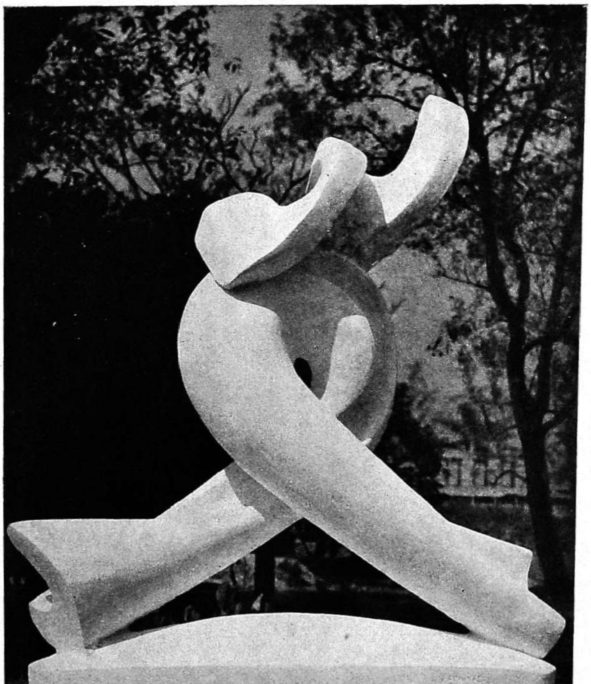

Fig. 2. Abstract sculpture in concrete by Rāmkinkar Baij. Santiniketan.

Fig. 1. 'Gossip' (grained wood) by Miss Pilloo R. Pochkhanawala, a talented young sculptress who recently held a very successful one-man-show at the Jehangir Art Gallery, Bombay.

'Conversation Piece' by Jehangir Sabavala. Exhibited at his one-man-show at the Jehangir Art Gallery, Bombay. Mr. Sabavala studied in London and Paris and has held several exhibitions in India, where his work has been very well received.

enlivened by the same spirit that lends power and expressiveness to his output in general. It has the same strength and that touch of the monumental, seen in his large concrete sculptures. As is the case with almost all his works, this is a highly subjective study. The vitality of this bust is hardly seen in other sculptures of like import, except in his study of Shri Abanindranath Tagore. Apart from its imposing form what gives so much strength and dignity to this bust is its texture and the remarkable manner in which the artist has handled the drapery and the knot of hair on the neck. Plate XXVIA, Fig. 1, is one of the finest works of contemporary Indian portrait sculpture, whether seen in profile with its throbbing bosom and determined face, or viewed frontally.

THE WHITE ELEPHANT

DR. MOTI CHANDRA

THIS splendid Mughal miniature of the late 16th or early 17th century represents a white elephant, profusely ornamented, under a canopy. It is attended by two smaller grey elephants, a fully caprisoned horse and a camel led by its driver. The majesty of the white elephant is obviously emphasised. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* makes no mention of any white elephant. Fortunately, the travels of Benedict Goes[1] mention that the King of Arakan had a celebrated white elephant. About 1602-1603 Felippe de Brito visited Arakan and informed the King that the Moors were at his gates and their general Mānsingh had promised Akbar that he would be lord of the white elephant then in the King of Arakan's possession.[2]

The King of Arakan had captured this white elephant from the King of Pegu who, according to Ralph Fitch, had four white elephants. These elephants were kept in great state in gilt stables and fed in vessels of gilt silver. When one of them proceeded to the river to be washed it moved under a canopy of silk and gold and was accompanied by musicians.[3] Our miniature conveys an idea of similar pomp and splendour.

Mānsingh defeated the King of Arakan in 1603. History, however, is silent whether he captured the white elephant and presented it to Akbar. Even if he did not, it is possible that he communicated the grandeur of this beast to Akbar. It may be that the Emperor or his son Jahāngīr had an imaginary portrait of this stately and unique creature prepared by one of the court artists. Jahāngīr (1605-1628) was greatly interested in rare birds and animals.

There is also a mention of a white elephant in the *Pādshāh Nāmah*, Vol. I, pp. 267-268, where it is stated that one Khwājā Nizām Saudāgar was a great sea-faring merchant whose employees often crossed the seas to acquire rarities. They purchased a young elephant which, according to certain experts, was likely to achieve a whitish complexion in due course. When the Khwājā at the order of Jahāngīr went to Pegu, he left the elephant under the care of a friend. After 12 years it acquired a white hue with red tinge. As it was of sweet temperament, it became renowned under the name of Gajapati. Apparently this elephant later came into the possession of the Emperor Shāh Jahān (1628-1658) one of whose poets composed a verse in its honour.

Our white elephant on stylistic grounds can hardly be that of the *Pādshāh Nāmah*.

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[1] C. H. Payne, *Jahāngīr and the Jesuits*, London 1930.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 196. Jahāngīr himself makes no mention of a white elephant in his *Memoirs*.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 255. Ralph Fitch was in Pegu in 1586.

PLATE G. 'The White Elephant'. Mughal school. Late Akbar or early Jahāngīr period. 1600-1610 A.D. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

THE KAULA - KĀPĀLIKA CULTS AT KHAJURĀHO

PRAMOD CHANDRA

THE Chandrātreya (Chandela) kings of Jejākabhuktī, who ruled over the greater part of what is modern Bundelkhand, from approximately the 9th to the 13th century A.D., were a remarkable race of builders, and their territory is strewn to the present day with remains of tanks, bunds, dams and temples. Their origin is traditionally ascribed to Maniyāgaḍh, their family deity being Maniyā Devī, a form of Śiva's *śakti*. Smith thinks that they were of aboriginal stock,[1] which does not seem impossible, considering the territory over which they ruled and some of the forms their religion was to take,[2] but the dynasty itself traces its descent from the legendary ascetic Chandrātreya. Whatever may be the truth of the matter, they were intimately connected with modern Khajurāho (Śrī Kharjūravāhaka) from the time of their first historical ruler, Nānnuka (*circa* first half of 9th century A.D.), to the 11th century, when Khajurāho seems to have lost its importance due to the exigencies of the political situation brought about by Mahmūd of Ghaznī's raids and the reverses suffered at the hands of their traditional enemies, the neighbouring Kalachuris of Ḍāhala.

The Chandelas probably began as humble feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, the dynasty that achieved paramountcy of the North after the death of the great Harsha. It was only when the intermittent yet constant struggles between them and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa took a turn for the worse in the second decade of the 10th century that the Chandelas rose to eminence as the saviours of their overlords. Yaśovarman captured the great fort of Kālañjara probably from the Rāshṭrakūṭas who had seized it earlier from the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and by the middle of the 10th century he was in possession of considerable power and territory.[3] The magnificent Lakshmaṇa temple at Khajurāho which was built in 954 A.D. and is the earliest dated monument at the site,[4] attests to his growing might. His son,

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1 V. A. Smith, 'History and Coinage of the Chandela Dynasty', *Indian Antiquary*, xxxvii (May, 1908), p. 137.

2 We find a constant association of the hill tribes with the darker aspects of Devī worship in mediaeval Sanskrit literature.

3 H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta 1931, Vol. II, p. 674.

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 122-135. The temple is compared to 'the charming splendid home of (Vishṇu), the enemy of the *daityas*, which rivals the peaks of the mountains of snow; the golden pinnacles of which illuminate the sky ; (and) on which groups of lotuses are wafted to and fro by multitudes of banners on high poles; at the sight of which the inhabitants of heaven, get together on festivals, filled with increasing delight, are struck with wonder.' p. 134.

Fig. 1. A Kāpālika with female companions. Devī Jagadambī temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

Fig. 2. Amorous scene: Kāpālika and woman. Devī Jagadambī temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

Fig. 3. Detail from Fig. 2.

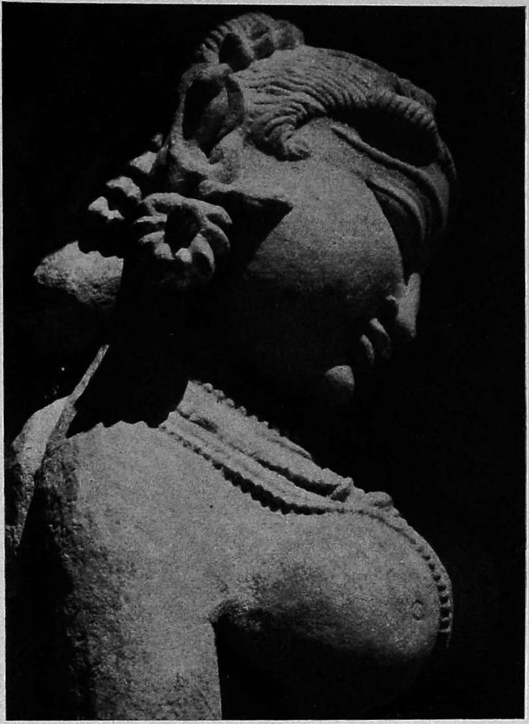

Fig. 4. Detail from a sculpture on Pārśvanātha temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

Fig. 5. Detail from a sculpture on a temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

Fig. 7. Amorous scene from a temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

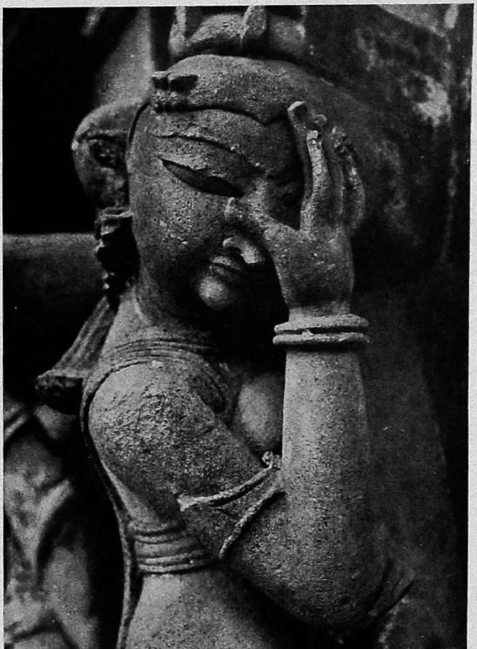

Fig. 6. Detail from a sculpture on Khandāriyā Mahādeo temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

Dhaṅgadeva, further consolidated Chandela power and ceased to pay even nominal homage to his former sovereigns. His long reign was apparently a period of great prosperity. A merchant, Kokkala by name, belonging to the Gṛihapati (modern Gahoī) caste, built a temple to Śiva Vaidyanātha, and the inscription dated 1001 A.D.[1] recording this construction is now in the Viśvanātha temple at Khajurāho, though we have no means of knowing which is actually the Vaidyanātha temple if it still stands. There is another inscription in the same temple[2] dated 1002 A.D. which records the construction of a temple dedicated to Śiva as Marakateśvara, having two *liṅgas*, one of emerald and another of stone. The emerald *liṅga* no longer exists, and while Dhama thinks that the inscription refers to the Viśvanātha temple itself[3] Ray seems to think[4] that it belonged to some other shrine. The temple of Jinanātha (Pārśvanātha) also contains information in an inscription that indicates its construction during Dhaṅga's reign though Dhama thinks differently.[5]

The Marakateśvara inscription provides us with an interesting glimpse into the organisation of religious life in mediaeval times. It mentions Yaśodhara, the *dharmādhikāra* of the king, and the gifts of land, money, grains and cows to Brāhmaṇas connected with the temples. The Nanyaura grant[6] records one such gift of land made by Dhaṅga from Banaras to the same *dharmādhikāra* Yaśodhara. Yaśodhara was from Tarkārikā, a fact which takes on some significance if we remember that the *śavara* poet who composed the Marakateśvara inscription was also from that place. Tarkārikā continued to be a place of some importance to the Chandela kings, and many of their priests and officers were recruited from that town.[7]

Dhaṅga had probably participated in one of the confederations of Indian princes that were formed to meet the threat of Muslim invasion from the North, but in the time of Vidyādhara, matters became very serious. Rājyapāla, the Gurjara king of Kanauj, had surrendered to Mahmūd during the latter's twelfth expedition in 1019 A.D., and was slain by Vidyādhara for this act of perfidy. Mahmūd set out to punish this challenge to his authority, but the task before him was not easy, for Vidyādhara was the most powerful of Chandela rulers, if not the most

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 147-150.
2 See *ibid.*, pp. 137-147.
3 B. L. Dhama, *Guide to Khajuraho*, Bombay 1927, p. 13.
4 Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 684.
5 There is some doubt about the dating of this inscripton. Cunningham gives the date of this inscription as V.S. 1011, and Kielhorn, *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 135 also agrees with the date. Dhama, however, thinks that the date is V.S. 1711, while Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II. p. 685, follows the dating of Kielhorn.
6 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xvi, pp. 201-204.
7 The Ajaigarh rock inscription of Bhojavarman, for example, praises the Vāstavya Kāyasthas of the town of Tarkārikā who had served so well under various Chandela kings. See *ibid.*, p. 733.

powerful sovereign of India at that time, the might of his arm being felt as far as the Narmada and the Chambal. There is a certain amount of uncertainty regarding the course of Mahmūd's campaign, but it is probable that Vidyādhara, avoiding open combat, retreated to Kālañjara where he was besieged by Mahmūd's forces for some time. Unable to capture the fort, Mahmūd concluded some sort of peace, a peace welcomed, no doubt, by Vidyādhara as well, and withdrew from the country.[1] It is not improbable that Vidyādhara should have carried on the building traditions of his predecessors, though there are no temples at Khajurāho which can be definitely ascribed to his reign. It is quite possible, however, that the splendid Kandāriyā Mahādeo temple, judging from the magnificence of its proportions, the style of sculpture, and the complexity of the *śikhara*, was built by this powerful king. After his death there was a temporary eclipse of Chandela fortunes when they suffered severe defeats at the hands of the Kalachuri Lakshmī-Karṇa, a position from which they were rescued by *sāmanta* Gopāla, general of king Kīrtivarman, about 1065 A.D. The victory was celebrated by the performance of a drama entitled *Prabodhachandrodaya* in the presence of the king and at the command of his victorious general. The predominantly Advaitic and Vaishṇava character of the play may give some indication of the religious trends prevalent in the Chandela dominions. The work also gives us interesting glimpses of the religious cults flourishing in the country at that time including those belonging to the Buddhist, Jaina, Śaiva and Vaishṇava sects.

Kīrtivarman's long and beneficent rule was followed by the equally bright reign of Madanavarman. The latter was succeeded by Paramārdi whose wars with Pṛithvīrāja, the Chāhamāna ruler of Delhi, form the subject of the great folk epic of Bundelkhand. It was during his reign, however, that the end came, the fort of Kālañjara being captured by Qutb-ud-din Aibak in 1203 A.D. The days of the Chandela dynasty as one of the major powers of Northern India were over.

Hindu temple architecture reached its zenith during the 10th and 11th centuries, about the same time when Chandela power was at its height, and a great number of shrines were built all over the country. An idea of the tremendous building activity that was going on can be obtained if we consider that the Bṛihadīśvara and Gangaikoṇḍacholapuraṁ temples in the South, the Liṅgarāja temple in Orissa, the Kandāriyā Mahādeo and other temples at Khajurāho, the temples at Osia and Kirāḍu in Rajasthan, Modherā in Gujarat, and the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Udayapura in Malwa, to name only a few, were all built about the same time. Most of these temples were dedicated to Śiva and testify to the universal prevalence of Śaiva cults in medieval India.

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1 For an excellent discussion of Vidyādhara see Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 688-694.

The exact nature of religious life during the 10th and 11th centuries, however, is rather obscure. Yet the strength of various esoteric cults as well as the nature of some of their practices is indicated by contemporary literary sources as well as numerous inscriptions found all over India. As far as Khajurāho is concerned, the inscriptions so far found do not yield much information except that the Chandelas were chiefly worshippers of Śiva, though some kings paid equal homage to Vishṇu, while the Jainas lived in amity and toleration. By viewing the Khajurāho temples, however, against the background of the general religious life of the country, of which they were naturally an expression, we might be able to come to a better understanding of the temples and, in particular, of many of the sculptures the character of which is still far from clear.

Various medieval writers like Somadeva,[1] Kshemendra (first half of the 11th century), Yāmunāchārya (latter half of the 11th century), and Rāmānuja speak of different Śaiva sects including the Kaula and Kāpālika cults which seemed to be particularly strong in their time. The Kaula cult appears to have a considerable history but it received a great impetus with Matsyendranātha, its great teacher and founder of the Yoginīkaula, who flourished, according to Bagchi, somewhere in the 10th century if not earlier.[2]

The philosophical doctrines on which the ritual of the cult was based appear to be of a sufficiently high order. Briefly, *kula*, the ultimate aim of the adept, is defined as 'the state in which the mind and the sight are united, the sense-organs lose their individuality, *śakti* becomes identical with *jīva*, and the sight merges into the object to be visualised.'[3] *Akula* is similarly defined ; *kula* is Śakti, and *akula* is Śiva; the unity (*samarasya*) of the two is *kula*, and the process by which this relationship is established is Kaulamārga. Śiva is also thought of as *Mahāliṅga*, the energy of which is conceived under the name of *bindu*, and it possesses *kāmakalā*, the power of attraction and the source of eternal life. Spiritual deliverance is obtained through devotion to the Liṅga, the exact knowledge of the Lord that pervades all, and is the source of the universe.[4] Great emphasis is paid to the practical application of meditational techniques and the various magical powers obtained in the process of *yoga* such as removal of disease, power to associate with *yoginīs*, success in the pursuit of the four ends of life, eternal youth, and long life obtained

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1 See K. K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur 1949, which gives a great deal of information on religious life during the 10th century.

2 P. C. Bagchi (editor), *Kaulajnāna-nirṇaya and some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1934, p. 27.

3 P. C. Bagchi, *Kaulajnāna-nirṇaya*, p. 38.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

by drinking the ambrosia that trickles from the topmost lotus which is situated in the *brahma randhra*.

The aims of the Kaula adept and the Yogi are similar, and only the means adopted for the realisation of that end are different. To the Kaula, the path is one of controlled enjoyment of the objects of the senses, for he realises that in the ultimate analysis *yoga* and *bhoga* are one and the same thing. Various stages are postulated in the upward course of the spirit, the ultimate unity being achieved only in the last stage. The ritual practices of the cult, therefore, enjoined the partaking of *pañchāmrita* or *pañchamakāras*,[1] and flowers, perfumes, flesh, fish and sweetmeats were commonly used in the ceremonial. The participation of *veśyā-kumārikās* (virgin courtesans) is also enjoined,[2] and the secret and symbolic nature of the rites is constantly reiterated. As late a text as *Akulāgama Tantra* (A.D. 1671) says:

Bāhyamade rato yastu maithune māṁsabhakshaṇe
te sarve narakam yānti iti satyam vacho mama

meaning, 'those who are addicted to external *mada, maithuna, māṁsa*, etc. certainly go to hell.'[3] In spite of all this, Kaula rites, hidden and esoteric by nature, were soon vulgarised and, the mercilessly drawn pictures of Kshemendra, himself an ardent Śaiva, reveal a lecherous and extremely debased form of worship, giving some credence to the opinions of religious rivals who constantly accused the Kaulas of indiscriminate indulgence in wine, women and song. In the eighth *upadeśa* of *Deśopadeśa*, he caricatures the Śaiva Guru and refers to the immoral wife of the householder who considers herself purified by having sexual intercourse with him.[4] This personification of evil is visited by hypocritical Brāhmaṇas ever ready to indulge in fish and a pot of wine, poets anxious to possess *siddhi*, and old men and gamblers who want to win back magically either their youth or their lost earnings.[5] In *Narmamālā*[6] he paints an even savager picture of a Kaula Guru who presides over an orgiastic ceremony (*yāga*) conducted in order to exorcise the wife of a rich disciple who is the king's officer. Half the Guru's head is smeared with red oxide, he wears clusters of leaves and flowers in his hair, a *yogapaṭṭa* is thrown across his chest and religious dots mark his forehead. The short hair reaching to the ear is gathered in a chignon, the ear-lobes are daubed with saffron paste, he has a sparse beard and is

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1 P. C. Bagchi, *Kaulajnāna-nirṇaya*, pp. 35-39 ; Chapter II, verse 5 etc.
2 *Ibid.*, 18th Chapter.
3 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 63.
4 M.K. Shastri (editor), *Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā of Kshemendra*, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, 1923, pp. 24, 25, verses 8, 9.
5 *Ibid.*, verses 11, 17, 23.
6 See *Narmamālā*, second *parihāsa* (verses 100-143) and the third *parihāsa* in *ibid.*, pp. 22-26.

Fig. 8. Śaiva Guru and disciples. From a temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

Fig. 9. Detail from a sculpture on Khandāriyā Mahādeo temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

Fig. 10. Woman applying collyrium. Pārśvanātha temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

Fig. 11. Devotees. Lakshmaṇa temple, Khajurāho, dated 954 A.D.

Fig. 12. Dancer. Pārśvanātha temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

constantly quaffing pots of wine. He stinks of wine and meat and his bloated belly is full of fish and other delicacies. A list of things required for the ceremony (*sambhārachīrikā*) is made, and all the necessary articles are arranged for by the officer. Relatives, heavily adorned women, and other disagreeable characters are invited to witness the ritual which begins with the arrival of the Guru and the sketching of a mystic *maṇḍala* containing representations of the *liṅga* and *yoni*. The Guru is surrounded by a crowd of vile disciples amongst which the cow-eating Bhairavāchārya, a weaver Kulāchārya, an ascetic with his nose cut off and wearing *rudrāksha* beads in his hair, a Śaivāchārya, a Mahāvratin, a naked ascetic, an ascetic wearing bells on his knees (*jānughaṇṭika*), the licentious widowed sister of the officer, a few mad women surrounded by dogs, and other rascally characters are specifically mentioned. All of them settle down to a hearty meal and vast quantities of rich food disappear rapidly. As the ritual proceeds, the widow, multitudes of rakes, prostitutes, and the various low disciples get drunk on wine which they swallow from skull cups. After midnight they begin the *ratichakra-mahotsava*, an orgy of promiscuity that lasts till the early hours of morning.

Many practices of the Kāpālikas (also known as Mahāvratins, Mahābhairavānuśāsana, Parameśvarasiddhāntin, Somasiddhāntin) were similar to those of the Kaulas except that they were associated with human sacrifice and there was an even greater erotic emphasis in their ritual.[1] This is also an ancient sect and was feared and despised both by other religious sects as well as the lay people. It is mentioned in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* from which we can gather some idea of the doctrines. The Kāpālikas are constantly associated with *yoginīs* in whose temples they are often shown practising their nefarious arts, and in this connection it becomes significant that the oldest temple at Khajurāho is Chaūsaṭh Joginī, or temple of the sixty-four *yoginīs*. Yāmunāchārya in his *Agamaprāmāṇya* (*circa* 1050 A.D.)[2] says that they wear the sacred thread, crest-jewel, ornaments for ear and neck, carry a human skull, a club, and their body is smeared with ashes. The club seems to have been important for it is mentioned in other texts including *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[3] The Kāpālika locates the Self in the *yoni*, and meditating thereon, attains deliverance. *Prabodhachandrodaya*, performed in the presence of the Chandela king Kīrtivarman also gives us some idea of this sect.[4] The Kāpālika in the play is named Soma-

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1 The Kāpālikas and Kaulas were often confused with each other due to many similarities in their practices. Thus Bhairavānanda, the Kāpālika ascetic in Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramanjarī* calls himself a Kaula *siddha*, and Somasiddhānta, the Kāpālika in *Prabodhachandrodaya* calls himself a Kulāchārya; also see Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, *Nātha Sampradāya*, Allahabad 1950. This work, discusses some aspects of the Kāpālika cult, pp. 82-95.

2 See Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka*, p. 356.

3 N. M. Penzer (editor), *Ocean of Story*, Vol. IX, London 1928, p. 69.

4 See Third Act, pp. 82-111 in K. Sambasiva Sastri (editor), *Prabodhachandrodaya*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXXII, 1936.

siddhānta and a commentary explains that the Somasiddhāntins were the same as Kāpālikas, believing that deliverance lay in unrestricted enjoyment of the senses, particularly women; for the Kāpālika ideal is 'to become incarnate in a form like that of Śiva and enjoy the pleasures of love with a consort as beautiful as Pārvatī'.[1] These ascetics constantly lived with female companions called *kapālavanitās;* they also sacrificed with human flesh, drank liquor from skull cups, and worshipped Mahābhairava and Mahābhairavī with offerings of human blood. The Kāpālika Bhairavānanda in Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramanjarī* (1.22-24) does not need the aid of *mantras, yantras* nor wisdom or meditation, for by drinking wine and enjoying women he could attain deliverance with consummate ease.

The Kaula-Kāpālika cults, as we have said before, are quite ancient, certainly much older than the 10th-11th centuries. The Kāpālikas were already well established in Maharashtra in the 7th century, and in the 8th century, their most important centre was probably Śrīparvata (modern Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) in Andhra. The two cults underwent a revival with the advent of Matsyendranātha and Kṛishṇapāda (Kānhapā), the latter being a great and powerful Kāpālika and in whose time, judging from the elevated tone of his extant verses, the cult still retained some purity and virtue. By the 10th-11th century these cults were very powerful all over the country, from Kashmir to the farthest South, and also quite degenerate. Various *pīṭhas* are mentioned in the texts, one of them being Ḍāhala, the territory of the Kalachuris of Chedi who were neighbours and rivals of the Chandelas of Jejākabhuktī. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that cults related to the Kaula-Kāpālika complex flourished in the area around Khajurāho, and an examination of some sculptures in its temples would seem to support this view.

Pl. XXVII, Fig. 1, represents a completely nude ascetic holding a club in his right, and a pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) in his left hand. There is not a shred of clothing or jewellery on him and the skull and face are clean shaved. He is accompanied by two women, probably *kapālavanitās*. The woman on the left holds the ascetic's arm, while the one on the right has an arm around his shoulder. She is loosening her loin-cloth thus exposing her nudity. Pl. XXVII, Figs. 2 and 3, again show an absolutely naked ascetic, the end of his club being visible near the armpit. The ear-lobes are pierced, the skull and face are shaven, and there is no trace of clothing or jewellery. The woman with whom he is enjoying the pleasures of love is dressed in typical Khajurāho style. Her loin-cloth has slipped below the hips, and she wears armbands, necklaces, and earrings. The hair is done in a tiered chignon with the bun resting on the nape of the neck. Pl. XXXI, Fig. 13, from

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[1] Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka*, p. 356.

Fig. 13. Amorous scene: Kāpālika and woman. Dūlādeo temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th-12th century A.D.

Fig. 15. Lovers and a monkey. Lakshmaṇa temple, Khajurāho, dated 954 A.D.

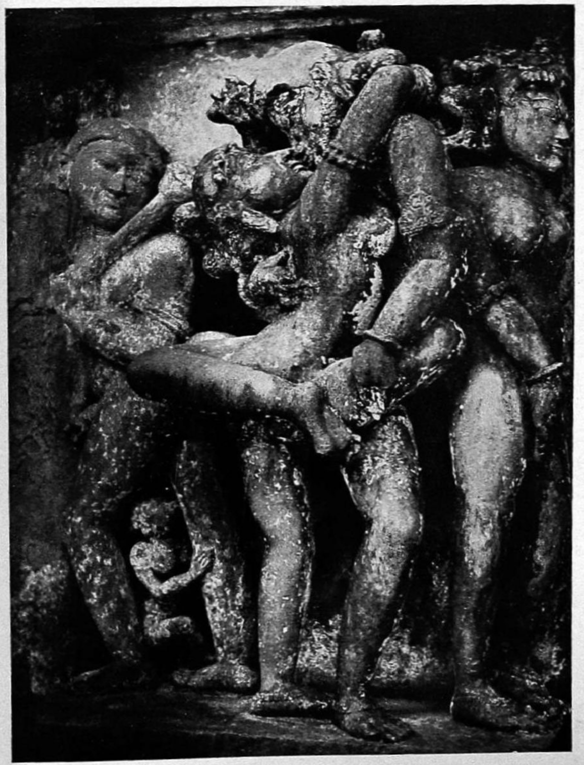


Fig. 14. Orgiastic scene. Lakshmaṇa temple, Khajurāho, dated 954 A.D.

Fig. 16. Party of Śaiva ascetics. Khandāriyā Mahādeo temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

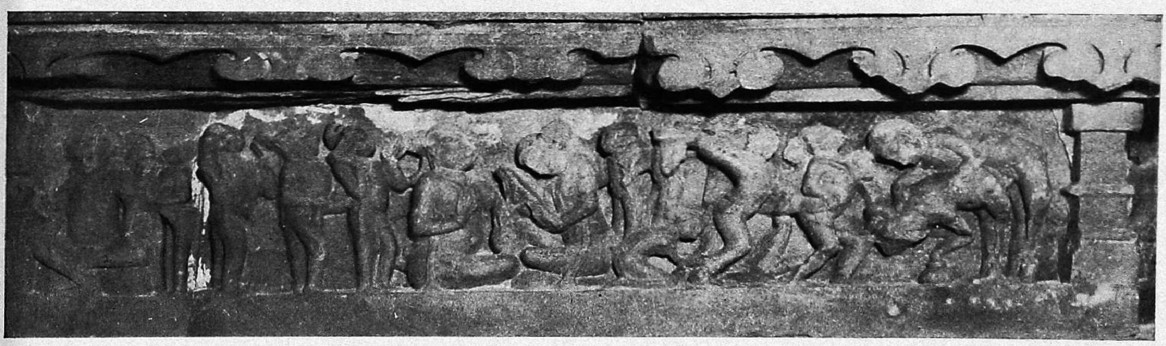


Fig. 17. Initiation ceremony. Khandāriyā Mahādeo temple, Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

the Dūlādeo temple, again shows a nude ascetic, bereft of clothes and ornament. His ears are pierced, but instead of the smooth, shaven head as in Pl. XXVII, Figs. 1, 2 and 3, the hair is arranged in small curls. The club is again present, tucked under the right arm, and he has a prominent belly. He holds the woman, who is loosening her looped girdle, by the arm and earring. Pl. XXIX, Fig. 8, represents the *guru* with his disciples and lay followers. He is seated on a cushion in the centre and is dressed in a loin-cloth, an upper-garment is thrown across his left shoulder and chest and he wears the sacred thread. The hair is long and arranged in a bi-cornate coiffure above the ears. The beard is short and the moustache thin. The necklace and armbands are made of *rudrāksha* beads, and he holds what is apparently a *sambhārachīrikā* (list of ingredients for ritual) in his right hand. The disciple who is also seated on a cushion to the right holds a similar object and is dressed in the same manner. The lay followers are to the left, heads bowed and hands folded in veneration ; the man is standing while the woman is seated near the *guru*.

Pl. XXXI, Fig. 14 and Pl. XXXII, Figs. 16 and 17 recall the orgies caricatured by Kshemendra. Fig. 17 is apparently a representation of one of the secret and esoteric rites in which a disciple is being initiated. In the centre is the *guru* with the initiate, to the left are several attendants, and to the right, the orgiastic ceremony is in full swing. In Fig. 16 we see a number of drunk and staggering ascetics who lean on each other for support as they sway under the spell of intoxication. Fig. 14 represents another orgiastic scene in which both lay and religious personages take part. To the left is a naked ascetic, his head and face shaven clean and carrying the club across his shoulder. The figures in the centre are clearly not religious as is evidenced by their jewellery and coiffure. To the right is a woman hiding her nudity.

These orgiastic scenes, in which religious ascetics take part, should be distinguished, I think, from many other *mithuna* figures that adorn the walls of the numerous temples at Khajurāho. Most of these are powerful and tense works of art, untouched by coarseness of any kind, and faithfully represent the state of ultimate spiritual unity where *yoga* and *bhoga* are one, and of which, physical union is an appropriate earthly reflection.[1] The artist has here seen through the physical rite to the reality of which it is an enactment and symbol and has therefore been able to endow his creation with a corresponding depth and beauty. Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 7, echoes this vision in the silent absorbed eyes, the onward rush of the woman's body, and in a refined sensuosity that is beyond the merely physical. The sculpture is unfinished, chisel marks

[1] Cf. Ananda Coomaraswamy, 'Tantric Doctrine of Divine Bi-unity', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIX (1938), pp. 173-182.

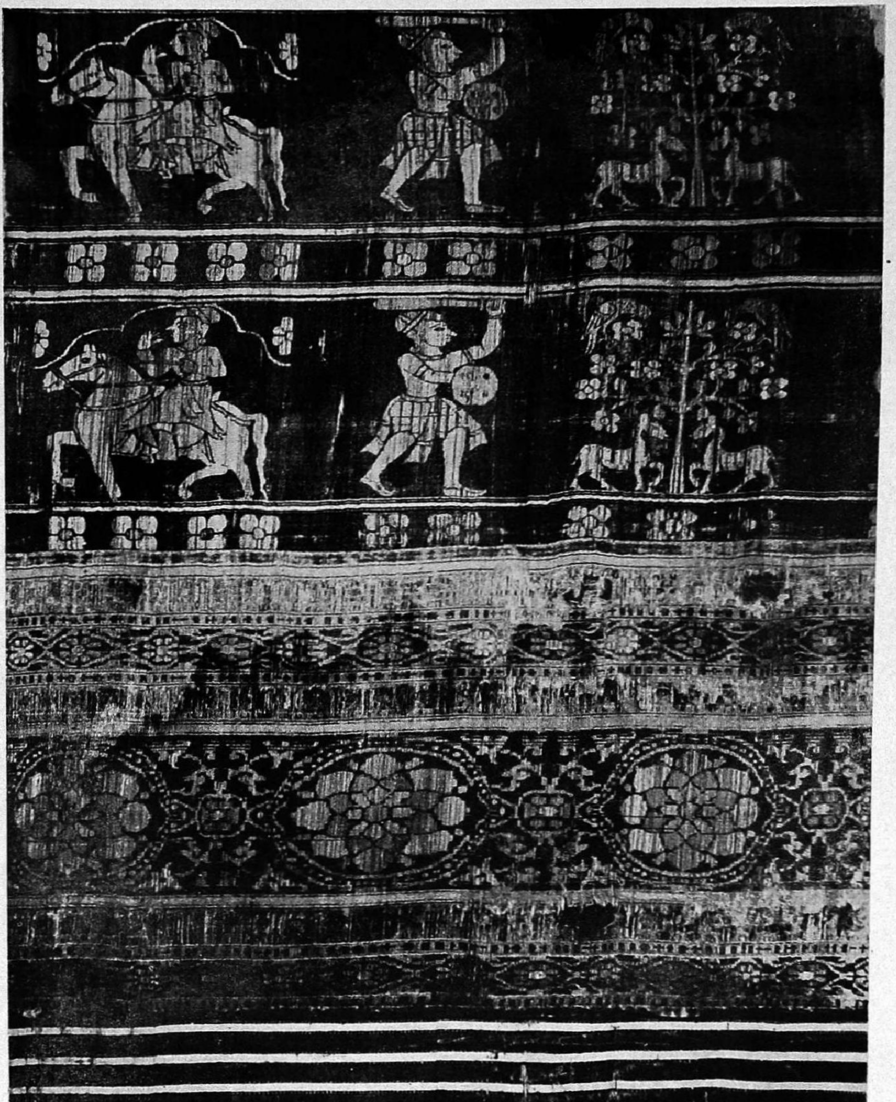
being visible on the man's swollen cheeks. Absorption and rapture are also to be seen in the rhythm evoked by dancing and singing devotees (Pl. XXX, Fig. 11). Their crossed legs begin a complicated movement that is caught up by the intersecting lines of theii short loin-cloths, and swirled around by swinging arms holding castanets (*karatālas*), curving backs, and swaying torsos. It is as though the jubilant onrush of music and the impassioned movements of the performers at the time of high worship have been stilled in stone. Anothei sculpture from the same temple (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 15) shows similar skill in capturing sudden agitated movement. The woman, frightened by a monkey, clasps her lover round the neck while he tries to drive away the creature with a crook. There is tenderness and intimacy in the attitude, and medieval sculpture here is far from being stiff and dead, being endowed, rather with a complexity and subtleness that has seldom been surpassed.

The intimacy that comes from deep knowledge as well as a keen awareness of the intricacie: of the craft are also to be seen in the myriads of beautiful women that the temple walls yield as a tree its fruit. Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 20, shows a woman playing with a ball (*kaṇḍukakrīḍā*), a moti: that is also common to Sanskrit literature. The particular attitude is known as *pratyāvartana* in the parlance of ball-play. The sculpture is built around a vertical, undulating movemen that begins with the crossed right leg, changes direction at the knee and is again taken up by the scarf that rests against the left thigh. Crossing the hips, it turns inwards indicating a sligh torsion and ends in the sweep of the arm that holds the ball. The eyes are large and the curved eyebrows stretch from nose to ear. Pl. XXX, Fig. 12, is a masterpiece on the walls o Pārśvanātha temple. The dancer, getting ready for the performance, is tying a bell-anklet tc an uplifted leg below which stands a dwarf figure holding another anklet. The dancer is dressec in a patterned *sārī* that almost reaches the ankles. The girdle appears to be made of bells anc she is lavishly bejewelled with bangles (*kaṅgana*), armbands, necklaces, and a string of pearl: (*lalantikā*) that falls between the breasts. The earrings are circular, and the hair, with the usua *āvartakas* (rows of curls at the temples), is arranged in a pyramid shape at the top of the head The face is somewhat unusual, being long and oval in shape. The modelling is of a high quality full yet subtle. The stance is easy and balanced, the movement bold and unhindered Pl. XXIX, Fig. 10, shows a woman applying collyrium to her eyes with a stick (*anjana-śalākā*) Her hair is arranged as in Pl. XXX, Fig. 12, but the face is full and round. Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 4, i a detail from a sculpture on the Pārśvanātha Temple. She has high cheek bones, flat nose thick lips, full bosoms and a pointed chin. The *āmalaka* shaped earring is interesting Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5, is a rather unusual face, in full view and almost square. The mouth i

Fig. 18. Master-sculptor and pupils. Attendant shrine of Lakshmaṇa temple, Khajurāho, dated 954 A.D.

Fig. 19. Sculptor at work. Khajurāho. *Circa* 11th century A.D.

Fig. 20. Woman playing a ball game.
From a temple, Khajurāho.
Circa 11th century A.D.



A seventeenth century satin tissue wall-hanging from Ahmadabad.
Heeramaneck collection, New York. See p. 108.

sensitive and delicate, and the eyes and eyebrows somewhat smaller than usual. The face is divided into two parts by a depression in the centre of the forehead, the ridge of the nose, and the fold below the lips. The left half is effectively distorted and adds intensity and charm to the expression. The hair is tied in tiers above the head, a form of coiffure rather popular at Khajurāho. The woman applying *tilaka* on the forehead (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6) has a similar head-dress. The fingers of the hand, the thumb of which rests against the nose are long and delicate, like tendrils, but the remainder of the hand is small, plump and somewhat podgy. The fine texture of the stone that lends the warm, luminous quality to so much of the sculpture at Khajurāho can be clearly seen in this figure as well as in Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5. The majority of sculptures at Khajurāho were carved in medium relief and meant to be seen from one side only, as a result of which the sculpture clings closely to the surface of the wall of which it is an integral part. The portion that is usually hidden from sight was left unfinished and it can be seen here to the right. Pl. XXIX, Fig. 9, is a rather unusual sculpture, standing out apart from its companions on the walls of the Kandāriyā Mahādeo temple. It seems to have been left unfinished for some reason, or is the work of an inferior craftsman.

Certain interesting sculptures at Khajurāho show the craftsmen responsible for creating so much beauty at work. Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 18, from one of the four smaller shrines that surround the *panchāyatana* Lakshmaṇa temple, shows the master sculptor drawing, on a stone slab, with a piece of chalk, either an architectural design or the outlines of a sculpture. He is surrounded by his artisans, many of them carrying chisels in their hands. Deep concentration can be traced on his face as he puts his mind to the work. All the craftsmen are humbly dressed, in plain loin-cloth and upper garment, and the hair is tied in a simple knot. In Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 19, we see the sculptor actually at work, hammering away with a chisel on a slab of stone. Immediately to the right are six workmen who are carrying away the finished piece by slinging it to a sturdy pole. The carved object appears to be part of a column, and is certainly an architectural member. Most of the carving at Khajurāho was done on the ground and then fixed at its proper position on the walls.

NOTE :
The author wishes to express his thanks to Sri Motiram Jain for the use of the photographs which accompany this article.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SATIN TISSUE WALL-HANGING FROM AHMADABAD

PUPUL JAYAKAR

At a recent exhibition of Indian textiles organised by the Museum of Modern Art, New York, was displayed a Gujarat satin wall-hanging of superb workmanship. This textile is one of the earliest surviving specimens of the Indian court tradition and it portrays mature indigenous art forms scarcely touched by the influences the Mughal Emperors were to exercise on the *kārkhānās* (workshops) that sprang up under the patronage of the royal courts.

Gujarat appears to have been one of the oldest and most important centres of silk weaving in India. Silks manufactured around Broach, the ancient Barygaza, are mentioned in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*[1] (1st century A.D.). At Mandasor, the ancient Daśapura, there is an inscription of the 5th century which records the building of a temple to the Sun by a guild of silk weavers who had migrated there from Gujarat.[2] The connection between Gujarat and the Baluchar *buṭidār* silk weavers from Murshidabad has been commented on by Sir George Watt in his *Indian Art at Delhi*, and there are known to be weavers around Madura in South India who claim to have migrated there from Gujarat,[3] eight hundred years ago.

The origin of silk weaving in Gujarat is not known. But the early art forms of Western India, particularly in their feeling for space and structural form, reveal a sensitive awareness of Sassanian traditions. And it is likely that Gujarat weavers came into early contact with the masterpieces of silk weaving from the great Sassanian workshops of Susa, Gundeshpur and Shustar. It is even possible that weavers from these workshops came to Gujarat in the great migrations that took place into Western India during the beginnings of the Christian era.

The city of Ahmadabad was founded by Ahmad Shah in 1412 on the site of the old city of Āśāval. That the finest quality of silk and gold weaving was associated with this centre, even prior to the fifteenth century, is likely, because even today a brocade-bordered gold and silk sari is referred to in Ahmadabad as 'Āśāvalī'.[4] Duarte Barbosa, writing in the beginning of the 16th century

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1 Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1912, p. 42.

2 J. F. Fleet, 'Sanskrit and Kanarese inscriptions', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 15, 1886, pp. 194-205.

3 I. R. Dave, '*Dakshina Bharatna Saurashtrio*' (Saurashtra Samshodhan Mandal, Rajkot).

4 A recent enquiry at Ahmadabad has given the following names for some of the brocaded silk saries. Āśāvalī Popaṭ Kinār, Āṅkaḍāni Āśāvalī Kinār, Āntanī Āśāvalī Kinār.

PLATE H. Detail from a 17th century satin tissue from Ahmadabad.
Heeramaneck collection, New York.

tells of wild tribesmen of Malaya, who did not consider their freedom secure until they had stored in a pile of Ahmadabad brocades equal to their own height. This was the standard ransom for a captive in war.

The *Āin-i-Akbarī*[1] refers to Ahmadabad as being famous for the weaving of brocades, velvets and silks. Imperial workshops for weaving were established by the Mughal Emperors from which came masterpieces in cotton, silk, velvet and brocade, with astonishing figures and patterns, knots and fashions.

It is likely that the wall-hanging illustrated here (Pl. XXXIV) comes from an Imperial *Kārkhānā* established by Akbar, and it may be dated to the first quarter of the 17th century. The gorgeousness of the hanging indicates that it was intended for the royal court and must have been woven at a time of great prosperity. Akbar conquered the city in 1572 and it is likely to have been forty to fifty years before cloths of this excellence came to be woven in the Imperial workshops. The four pointed *chakdār jāmah* and a later form of the flat *atpaṭi pagrī*, familiar from the miniatures of the Akbar period, are worn by the rider and the warrior, and this would lead one to place this cloth in the opening years of the seventeenth century. But it is likely that these fashions could have continued to a later period in provincial capitals. The cloth is a heavy satin tissue divided into horizontal strips separated from each other by small four-petal flowers. The repeat is composed of a horse and a rider, a hunter with a flat uplifted sword and shield and a tree with spreading branches on which sit two birds and under which shelter two deer. At the base is a heavy border with a great eight-petal full blown lotus flower enclosed in a roundel, reminiscent of Sassanian textiles. Each lotus is connected by stylized leaf forms.

The colour of the hanging is a rich glowing madder red, the design being woven in ivory and turmeric yellow (Pl. H). The effect is one of great simplicity, dignity and richness. The use of colour, the flatness of composition, the arrangement of the design in horizontal panels, and the importance given to the uncluttered background colour of the cloth, link it to the main stream of Western India miniature painting and to the great and ancient 'earth' tradition of resist dyeing of cloth where the design is not imposed on the material but rather the design appears to be carved out of the background colour so that the background becomes a vital element in the design. The drawing is linear, the composition clear, definite and free of the unessential. The figures are squat and rooted, and so is the tree that arises straight and beautiful with its outspreading flowering branches. There is expressed here a simple vital statement of line and form and a

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[1] Blochman, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Calcutta 1939, pp. 93, 98, 99 (Trans. *Bibliotheca Indica* series).

joyous awareness of space that as yet has not been influenced by the willowy treatment of the human form, the curving all-over floral patterns, the caligraphic ornamentation and the fear of empty space visible in the Safavid textiles of the period—influences that were soon to permeate all fields of Indian court art.

This is no art of the bourgeoisie. Nor is it the art of the sophisticated Imperial courts. Rather is it an expression of that powerful folk element in Gujarat art, so vividly present in its miniatures, its wood carvings and its embroideries. It reflects a rich even unique perception of colour and form that permeates every avenue of Gujarat peasant life. Emotional and poetic, it is a folk vision rooted in a past of nomadic peoples — the Gūjara, the Ahīrs, the Gonds, the Scythians — who met and mingled on the plains of Gujarat.

Of singular importance is the form of the tree with its four-petalled flowers, its two birds and its two deer.

The form of the tree is ancient, even archaic—a symbol and form rarely found in textiles[1] but present in ancient sculptures at Sānchī, Borobodur and Paramban. Mr. C. Sivarammurti informs me that at Paramban there is a sculpture that illustrates this very theme — the tree with two birds resting in its branches and two deer seeking shelter. The motif of the tree of life is present in all civilizations. The *Kalpa Vriksha* — the desire fulfilling tree — from which emerges all that man's mind can desire. It is one of the fourteen gems that emerged at the time of the churning of the ocean.

The bird is also an ancient symbol. In Persia the bird *amrū* or *Sinamrū* shakes the fruit from the tree bearing the seed of all things useful to mankind.[2] In India the bird is the symbol of man's *Jīva*. Its home is the tree of light. The bird flies away into the wilderness to return to the shelter of the tree. *Purusha* and *Prakriti*, the two principles at the core of the life force, are also conceived as two birds — who sit on the branches of the tree of knowledge. *Purusha* remains passive and watches *Prakriti*, the active female principle, eats of the fruit of knowledge.

A recent enquiry at Ahmadabad shows that at present there are about fifty looms working on silks and brocades. The weavers belong to the Kanbi and Khatri castes.

The textile illustrated here comes from the Heeramaneck collection in New York. A textile from the same royal workshop has been illustrated in *The Art of India and Pakistan*.[3] A similar

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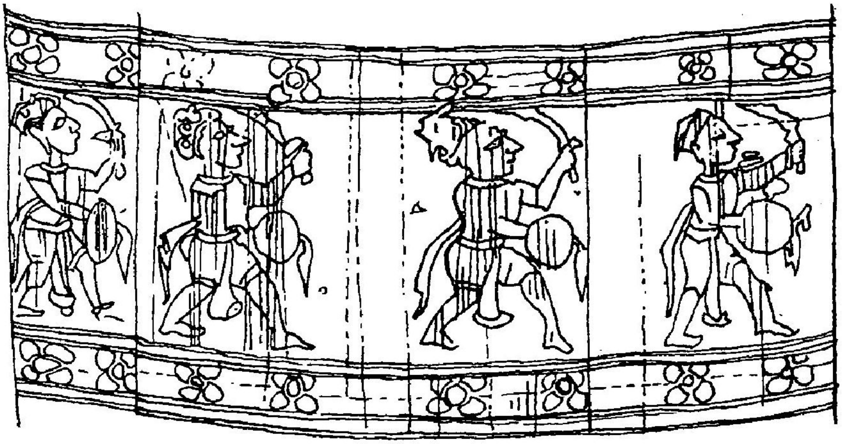
1 The tree of life as found in abundance in Indian painted cloths is a different concept. The form is decorative and the source of design is a mixture of Persian, Chinese, European and Indian influences.
G. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies in the 17th and 18th centuries*, London 1921.

2 Tawney, *Kathā Sarita Sāgar*, Vol. 3, p. 103.

3 *The Art of India and Pakistan*, London 1950, Pl. 69.

fabric is also in the Indian Textile collection of the Textile Museum at Washington. But both these textiles only have the figure of the warrior with the sword and shield. The horse and rider as well as the tree are missing.



Detail from a satin tissue, early 17th century A.D. Western India. Red ground. Jalan collection, Patna. Illustrated in *Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Pl. 69.

Fig. 1. Flying Vidyādhara couple. From the Durgā temple, Aihole, Bijapur District. Early Western Chālukyan school. Sixth century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi. See p. 113.

Fig. 2. Flying Vidyādhara couple. From the Durgā temple, Aihole, Bijapur District. Early Western Chālukyan school. Sixth century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi. See p. 113.

Fig. 4. Andhakāntaka from Paṭṭaḍakal, Bijapur District. Early Western Chālukyan school. Eighth century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi.

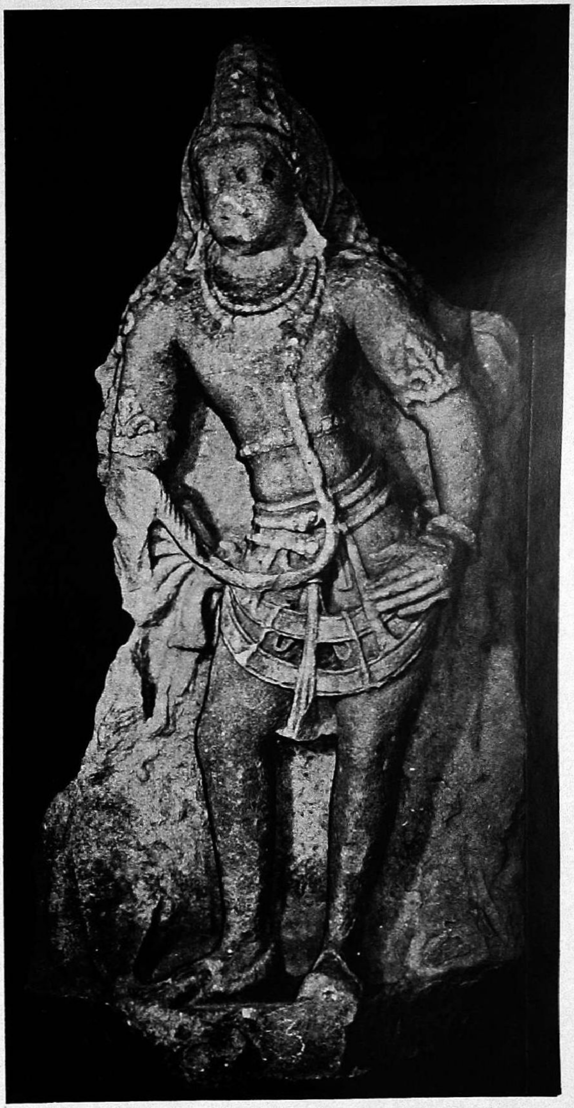


Fig. 3. Śiva from the courtyard of the Virūpāksha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, Bijapur District. Early Western Chālukyan school. Eighth century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi.

SOME RECENT SCULPTURAL ACQUISITIONS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

C. Sivaramamurti

Aihoḷe in Bijapur district is a place of great significance for the study of early Western Chāḷukya art. It is here that one has to look for the beginnings of early Western Chāḷukya art which flowers later at Bādāmī and Paṭṭaḍakal. The Durgā temple at Aihoḷe, the Huchimalliguḍi temple and the Lāḍkhān temple are very important for understanding the early phase of this school. The early Western Chāḷukyas, who were the political successors of the Vākāṭakas in the Deccan, continued the glorious traditions of their political predecessors. The Vākāṭakas, who fostered the earlier artistic bloom of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan, developed a pleasing style of their own, which closely resembles the Gupta style of the North. The Gupta style in its turn is a development from earlier Kushāṇa art which has so startling a resemblance to the Sātavāhana school in the South. This explains the striking similarity that exists between two schools of sculpture, so far apart as that of the Western Kushāṇa and the Eastern Sātavāhana empires, the one located in Afghanistan and the other on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. It cannot be denied that one is struck by the similarity of the ivories of Begrām and the carvings of Amarāvatī. It is a 'development' from this Kushāṇa art and from that of the Sātavāhanas — so nearly allied — that brings so close together the art of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas, apart from the political relationship that existed between the two empires by reason of matrimonial ties. This accounts for the sculpture of the earliest date from Aihoḷe being styled by writers on art as 'Gupta'. But really it is a continuation of a phase of Vākāṭaka art by the early Western Chāḷukyas.

It was a period when the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was very great and we find that scenes from this great epic were much favoured by the sculptors for decorating their structures. Some of the finest scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* come from Deogarh in Jhansi district. And in the Durgā temple at Aihoḷe there is a fine long series of panels narrating the story of Rāma, the sculptor waxing eloquent in his depiction of the scenes of the harem of Rāvaṇa in the Pushpaka palace. It is easily seen that to the sculptor of the early Western Chāḷukyas, Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and specially the *Sundarakāṇḍa* were a great inspiration. This fact is obvious in the remarkable

sculptures from the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* of the Durgā temple. Two great masterpieces of this group which were lying loose in the open courtyard of this temple now adorn the sculptural gallery of the National Museum to narrate the history of the evolution of early Western Chāḷukya art, in their own context. Both these depict flying Vidyādharas with their consorts. There is grace in every limb of these exquisite 6th century figures. The decoration is not heavy and most tastefully arranged. The simpler of the two (Plate XXXV, Fig. 1), shows an *ekāvalī* for the Vidyādhara, a simple coronet, heavy *kuṇḍalas* for the ear, the *ananta* type of armlet, a simple *udarabandha*, *kaṭisūtra* and *ardhoruka* under-garment with a heavy tassel as a loop from one side of the waist to the other. In his hand is a *chashaka*, a cup of wine. He fondles the coiffure of his consort. It is decorated with flowers and pearls, her upper garment fluttering all around her. Her simple *mekhalā* has a knot, one end of which sways as she moves. The border of her diaphanous *ardhoruka* is skilfully done. The *manjīra* adorns her feet. Her right hand has an attitude of requesting her lover to desist from toying with her braid. The fluttering garments, the attitude of the figures and the clouds on which they move suggest great motion.

The other pair (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), is even more effective though unfortunately this sculpture is more damaged. The Vidyādhara here wears more elaborate ornamentation and instead of the simple *ananta* type of armlet that his consort wears he has a bejewelled one. He wears a pearl necklace and a gem-studded *chhannavīra*, a decoration for a warlike figure. Both his *udarabandha* and the *kaṭisūtra* are decorated and tassels issue from the *makara* heads that flank the central circular jewel of the *udarabandha*. His coronet is more elaborate than that in the other sculpture and around his head is that elongate halo which is so characteristic of Western Chāḷukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa sculptures. The coiffure of his consort is elaborately decorated with pearls and flowers and adds lustre to her charming figure. Her elaborate *mekhalā* composed of strings of gems with heavy clasp and the large circular *patrakuṇḍala* on one ear and a simpler *kuṇḍala* of the *trikaṇṭaka* type on the other, her diaphanous *ardhoruka* apparel so similar to that of her consort and the fluttering upper garment over her head, beautifully balance the scheme of arrangement of figures in this panel. The disposition of clouds behind them at the top and the side and the rhythmic lines of the body making up the contour of the figures suggest a swift gliding movement in the air. One of the hands of the Vidyādhara should have held a *chaurī* fan but is unfortunately broken and lost. These two great masterpieces bring to our mind not only the idea of flying Vidyādharas as described in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, presenting themselves in the sky, gazing with admiration on the movement of Hanumān as he flew to Laṅkā, but also significantly portray the sphere of movement, the celestial path, as described therein.

Fig. 5. Tripurāntaka from Paṭṭaḍakal, Bijapur District. Early Western Chālukyan school. Eighth century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi.

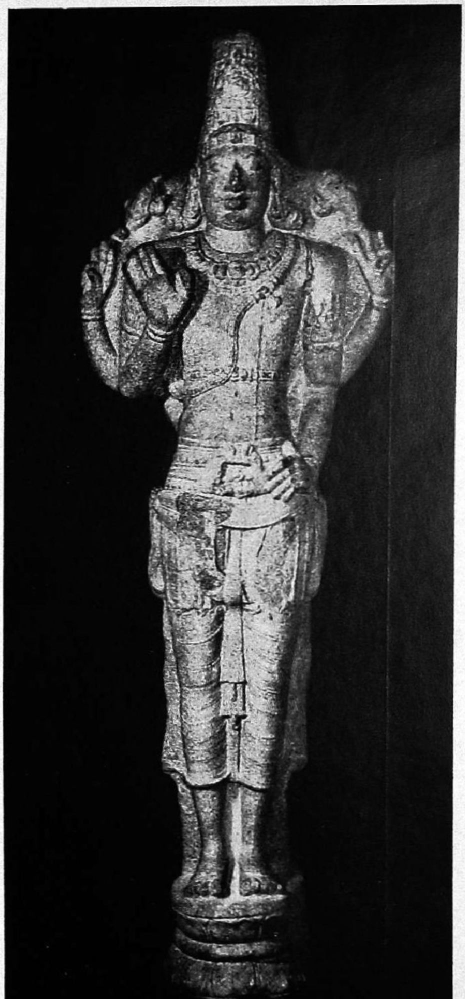


Fig. 6. Vishṇu from Paśupatikoil, Tanjore District. Early Chola transition period. Ninth century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi.

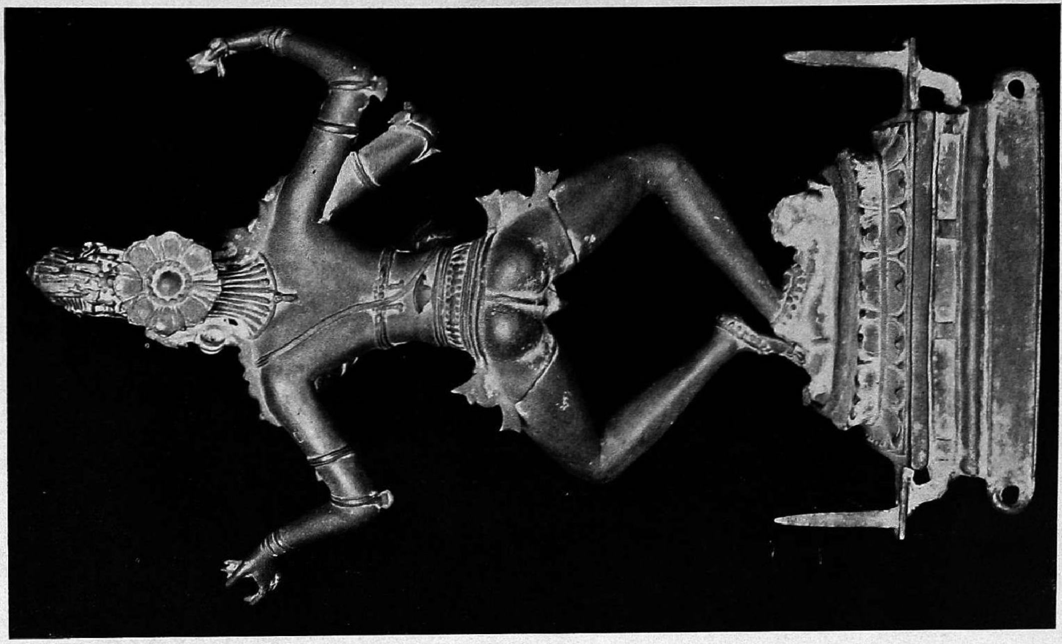


Fig. 7A. Rear view of Fig. 7.

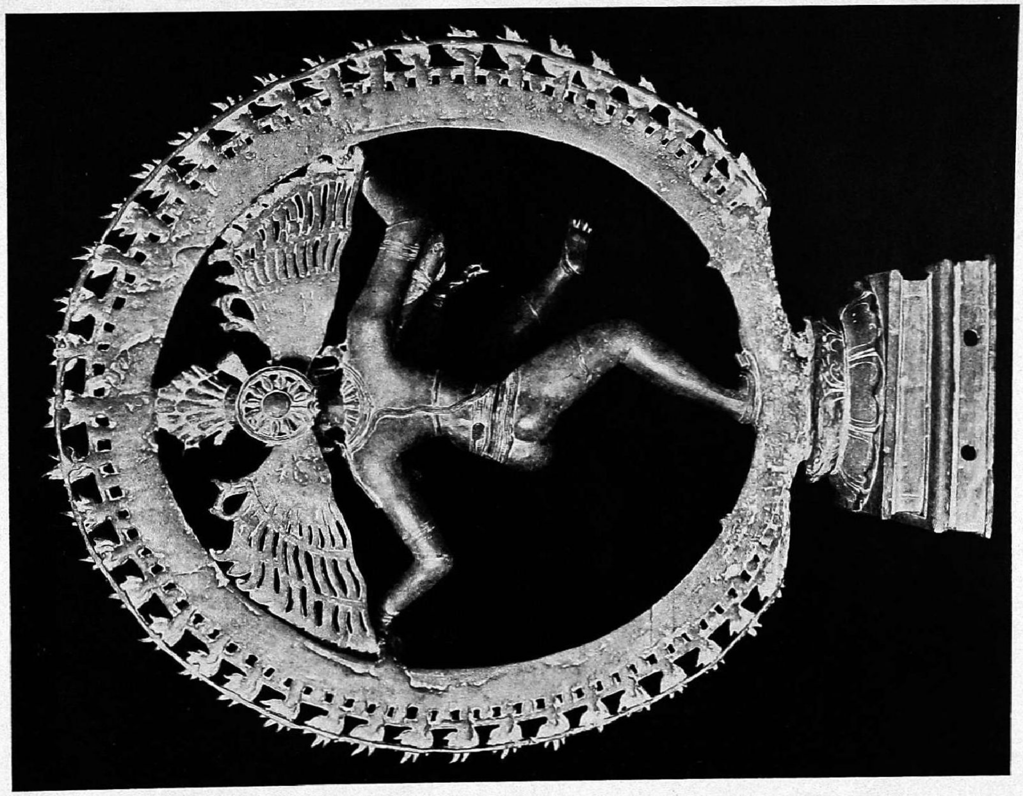


Fig. 8A. Rear view of Fig. 8.

trastā vidyādharās tasmād utpetusstrīgaṇaissaha|
pānabhūmigatam hitvā haimamāsavabhājanam|
pātrāṇi cha mahārhāṇi karakāmscha hiraṇmayān||

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 22.[1]

hāranūpurakeyūrapārihāryadharās striyaḥ|
vismitās sasmitās tasthur ākāśe ramaṇais saha||

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 26.[2]

Here the Vidyādharas appearing flushed with wine and with wine goblets in their hands flying in the sky are graphically portrayed in the lines composing these verses. The figures amidst clouds gliding along bring the picture presented by Vālmīki of the flying forms now appearing and disappearing amidst clouds.

pāṇḍurāruṇavarṇāni nīlamānjishṭhakāni cha|
kapinā kṛishyamāṇāni mahābhrāṇi chakāśire||

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 82.[3]

praviśannabhrajālāni nishpatamscha punaḥ punaḥ|
prachchhannas cha prakāśaś cha chandramā iva lakshyate||

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 83.[4]

This should bring to our mind the great Vākāṭaka masterpieces from the Ajaṇṭa Cave No. 17, where the flying celestials sailing along with the clouds are effectively presented in colours by the painter.

These two masterpieces representing the earliest phase of Western Chāḷukya art are followed by other sculptures from Paṭṭaḍakal, which were acquired along with them for the National Museum to continue the story of the later phase of this art. One of these shows Śiva (Plate XXXVI, Fig. 3) standing in *tribhaṅga* wearing his *jaṭāmakuṭa* and necklet composed of large pearls with small pearl tassels decorating it, a large *muktāyajnopavīta* going over the right arm as in the case of several figures in the earlier caves at Bādāmi, a jewelled *udarabandha,* armlets decorated with the *siṁhamukha,* gaping lion's head, elaborate *kaṭisūtra* and loops and tassels with a centrally long tassel issuing from the clasp of the *kaṭisūtra.* The *jaṭās* other than those bound up nestle on his shoulders with a grace that is worthy of the sculptor of Vikramāditya II whose queen was

1 The frightened Vidyādharas with their feminine hosts sprang up thence leaving the golden vessels of wine in their carousing ground, priceless cups and golden goblets.

2 Vidyādhara damsels stood in mid sky with a smile on their face in the company of their consorts adorned with necklets, anklets, armlets and other adornment and apparel.

3 The great clouds pulled by the monkey shone in different hues like white, pink, blue and orange.

4 Now and again entering the rows of clouds and emerging again from them, now hidden and now again perceptible he looked like the moon similarly amidst clouds.

responsible for this sculpture found in the courtyard of the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal, which is a creation of Lokamahādevī. The Virūpāksha and the Mallikārjuna or Trailokyeśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal that belong to the time of Vikramāditya II are great monuments, the one built by Lokamahādevī and the other by Trailokyamahādevī, the senior and the junior queens of that monarch. Inscriptions from the Virūpāksha temple from the eastern gateway mention interesting particulars, one of them calling the builder of the monument as 'the most eminent *sūtradhārī* of the southern country'. Another on the east face of the temple of Pāpanātha eulogizes a sculptor Chaṭṭara-Revadi-Ovajja who is described as one who 'made the southern country' i.e., who built temples of the southern country and this sculptor belonged to the guild of Sarvasiddhi-āchāryas, the same as that of the architect of the Virūpāksha temple. The inscription from the eastern gateway of the courtyard of the Virūpāksha temple mentions that the *sūtradhārī* Guṇḍa constructed it for Lokamahādevī, the queen of Vikramāditya II, to commemorate the conquest of Kāñchī three times over. Vikramāditya's appreciation of Pallava sculptural work is actually recorded in an inscription of his from the *maṇḍapa* of Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñchī. Being struck by the beauty of the Pallava temples at Kāñchī, Vikramāditya may have induced some of the best sculptors of the Pallava realm to come to his kingdom; and it is interesting to find that there is evidence for this, not only in the sculptural and architectural features of the temples of his period at Paṭṭadakal, but also in the inscriptions that clearly ascribe the construction of the temples to architects from the southern country.[1] When we remember, that the beautiful Kailāsa temple at Ellora has its basis on the Lokeśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal, the importance of the sculptural wealth here in understanding the later Rāshṭrakūṭa creations would become obvious. Another sculpture from near the same place is of Andhakāntaka (Plate XXXVI, Fig. 4), vanquishing the demon of darkness, Andhaka. Unlike those sculptures where the Bhairava, the Andhakāntaka and the Gajāntaka forms are combined, Śiva is shown here purely as Andhakāntaka with his face charming and bright and suggesting the ease with which he is vanquishing his opponent. Both from sculptural and inscriptional evidence we know that the Chāḷukya area has produced several sculptures of the complex Andhakāntaka type including the three concepts in itself, as described above, but here it is a simpler iconographic form. He is shown in the *ālīḍha* pose overcoming the Asura by piercing him with his *śūla*. At his feet is the fierce form of Yogeśvarī sucking up the blood of the demon. In this, the sculptor, though he has decorated the figure very sparsely with

[1] For Pallava-Chālukya-Rāshṭrakūṭa affinities in art see C. Sivaramamurti, *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan* (Publication of the Indian Museum, Calcutta 1955).

Fig. 7. Naṭarāja in *Chatura-tāṇḍava* pose. South Indian metal image. From the temple at Tiruvarāṅgulam, Pudukoṭṭai State. Pallava-Chola transition type. *Circa* ninth-tenth century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi.

Fig. 8. Naṭarāja in *ānandatāṇḍava* pose. South Indian metal image. Provenance unknown.
Late Chola period. Twelfth century A.D.
National Museum, New Delhi.

ornament, has presented it in a majestic fashion by the introduction of the warrior pose of *ālīḍha* and by the dignity and grace of the lines forming the contour of the figure. The smile on the face suggests the ease with which success is achieved in the combat.

A third sculpture from Paṭṭadakal is Śiva as Tripurāntaka (Plate XXXVII, Fig. 5). This great theme has been a great inspirer to both the sculptor and the poet. Kālidāsa describes the theme sung by the sweetest voiced Kinnarīs as *Tripuravijaya*.

śabdāyante madhuramanilaiḥ kīchakāḥ pūryamāṇā
saṁraktābhis tripuravijayo gīyate kinnarībhiḥ|

Meghadūta I, 60.[1]

Kālidāsa cannot think of a greater and more magnificent figure of a warrior than that of Śiva on his chariot in the *ālīḍha* pose with his bow drawn to shoot his enemy and would fain describe Raghu of fair form standing in all his glory to defy and fight Indra by comparing him to Śiva as Tripurāntaka in his characteristic *ālīḍha* pose.

sa evam uktvā maghavantam unmukhaḥ karishyamāṇas saśaram śarāsanam|
atishṭhadālīḍhaviśeshaśobhinā vapuḥprakarsheṇa viḍambiteśvaraḥ||

Raghuvaṁśa III, 52.[2]

This form of Śiva as Tripurāntaka is one of the most mighty conceptions known to the *Purāṇas* and the classics. It was considered so difficult to overcome the Tripurāsuras — the three sons of Tārakāsura — Vidyunmalī, Tārakāksha and Kamalāksha, that Śiva alone could achieve this and he was requested by the gods to do this task of vanquishing them in their mighty castles built of gold, silver and iron by Maya, the Asura architect. To this end all the celestials combined to help Śiva who towered above all with the additional strength that he gained from each individual celestial. With the earth as his chariot, the sun and moon as its wheels, the four Vedas as the horses yoked to it, with the four-faced Brahmā himself as his charioteer, with the great golden mountain Sumeru as his bow and Vāsuki as the bow string, and Vishṇu himself as his fiery arrow, with Agni and Yama respectively as its barb and feather he issued forth to oppose the Tripuras. Nīlakanṭha Dīkshita, the greatest of later-date poets in Sanskrit, has brought out eloquently the nobility of the theme of Tripurāntaka and a verse from his *Śivotkarshamanjarī* amply illustrates it.

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[1] The bamboos filled with wind produce a sweet sound as sweet-voiced Kinnara damsels sing the theme of the conquests of Tripuras (by Śiva).

[2] Having said this to Indra with his face raised up and fitting his arrow to his bow he stood majestically with the beauty of his powerful form enhanced by his *ālīḍha* posture by which he resembled Iśvara.

bāṇam kāśchana bāṇakoṇamitarā bāṇasya mūlam parā
yantāram katichid rathāṅgamitarās śishṭāh punas svāminam/
ittham saṁstuvate chirantanagiras sākshāt praṇamyāpi yam
sa svāmī mama daivatam taditaro nāmnāpi nāmnāyate//

Śivotkarshamanjarī, 17.[1]

This elaborate equipment and the simple way in which Śiva without the least help destroyed the Tripuras is just an emphasis on the great warrior qualities of the greatest of gods, Mahādeva as Tripurāri. Perhaps there is no greater depiction of this theme in art than the magnificent painting of the Choḷa period from the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore; and the opportunity is never missed by the sculptor all over India to depict this great and popular theme, and we find it represented at Paṭṭaḍakal and Ellora. The Śilpa texts recognise varieties of the form of Tripurāri and one of the great masterpieces in metal work of early Choḷa date is now in the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore. The present one from Paṭṭaḍakal is particularly interesting, as it shows not only the *Vṛishabhadhvaja* banner surmounted by Nandīkeśvara as part of the decoration of the chariot, but also as it depicts the three brazen castles of the Asuras that Śiva destroyed. Even at Ellora this feature of the brazen castles is not very clear and it is really interesting that this sculptural masterpiece has presented this feature vividly.

Another sculptural treasure, added to the collections of the National Museum, is a standing image of Vishṇu of slender build, characteristic of the earliest phase of Choḷa art still retaining the features of late Pallava and suggesting the transition from the one to the other (Plate XXXVII, Fig. 6). The earliest Choḷa temples, as for instance those of the Koḍumbālūr group in Pudukoṭṭai or the Kuraṅganātha temple from Srīnivāsanallūr, or that of Nageśvarasvāmi from Kumbakonam have charming slender figures of great grace, and to this group belongs this fine sculpture of Vishṇu. The *kirīṭa* is long and cylindrical with a pattern of squares with inset globular gems. The *yajnopavīta* with ribbon-decorated clasp goes over the right arm and is gem-set like the *udarabandha* and the necklet. The armlet is not quite so simple and the clasp of the *kaṭisūtra* has the *simhamukha* or the lion-face decoration. The under-garment has its folds at various stages delicately suggested and the loop from the *kaṭisūtra* is not overwhelming. The weapons, conch and disc, have small flames, and the latter is on edge, which is a characteristic of its early

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[1] That Lord is my God and no other is even uttered by me by name, the Lord whose arrow (Vishṇu) is worshipped as such by some, the barb of the arrow (Agni) by others, the root or feather of the arrow (Yama) by yet others, whose charioteer (Brahmā) is worshipped by some, the wheels of the chariot (sun and moon) by others, the Lord himself by yet others of virtuous disposition and whom in adoration prostrate the Vedas themselves thus extol in praise.

date. The *makarakuṇḍalas* adorn the ears. The fingers holding the weapons are in the *kartari-mukha* mode. The image may be assigned to the 9th century A.D.

To nearly the same period must be assigned a unique metal image of Naṭarāja (Plate XXXIX, Fig. 7), which has been recently added to the collection of the National Museum. This image is a unique one in that it represents Śiva in the *chatura-tāṇḍava* pose in metal. The *chatura* is one of the most lovely of dance poses and is just a transposed form of *lalita*. This image was originally in the temple at Tiruvaraṅgulam in Pudukoṭṭai State[1] and is now from the collection of Sir S. V. Ramamurti. This charming image has a very slender delicate physical make up and the ornamentation is remarkable and effective. The *jaṭā* decoration is characteristic of similar early figures of the transition period from Pallava to Choḷa. The *makarakuṇḍala* on one ear and the *patrakuṇḍala* on the other suggest the ever present Ardhanārīśvara concept in Śiva which is all the more significant in this dancing pose of his, recalling the verse of Kālidāsa wherein he shows how *lāsya* and *nṛitta* are presented in their two-fold aspect in the two halfs of his, masculine and feminine.

devānāmidamāmananti munayaḥ kāntām kratum chākshusham
rudreṇedamumakṛitavyatikare svāṅge vibhaktam dvidhā/
traiguṇyodbhavamatra lokacharitam nānārasam dṛiśyate
nāṭyam bhinnarucher janasya bahudhāpyekam samārādhanam//

Mālavikāgnimitra, I. 4.[2]

And in this context of Kālidāsa's beautiful description of dance as a great ocular sacrifice, this presentation assumes a greater significance, as this charming figure is itself a great ocular feast. The charm of the face, the delicacy of the fingers, the ease in the pose, the rhythmic lines composing it and the suggestive movement in the figure are all great factors to proclaim this bronze as a great masterpiece. The *udarabandha*, the *yajnopavīta* with ribbon-decorated clasp, the armlet, the decorative fastening near the elbow, the elaborate *kaṭisūtra* with lion-head decoration on the clasp from the gaping mouth of which issue tassels and ribbons that jut out to decorate the *ardhoruka* garment worn by Śiva and the small *kiṅkiṇī* bells on the anklets as they jingle to keep time to his feet moving in dance, all add to enhance the beauty of this glorious figure. Even the dwarf that is crushed seems to enjoy the light movement of his oppressor. The

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1 This has been published by T. A. Gopinātha Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, Pl. LXVI to illustrate this form of the dance of Śiva.

2 Sages consider this a pleasant ocular offering for the gods ; this has been split into two phases by Rudra in his own body intermingled with Umā ; in this are represented every act in the world arising from the three-fold natural dispositions and suggestive of different moods ; dance alone in different ways is the one thing that pleases people of varying taste.

backview (Plate XXXVIII, Fig. 7A) is not any the less beautiful and here the *śiraschakra* with its delicate lotus petal decoration adds flavour to its charm.

Another recent arrival in the National Museum is a fine specimen of normal type of Naṭarāja dancing in the *ānandatāṇḍava* pose against a halo (Plate XL, Fig. 8 and Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 8A). It is decorated at the bottom as well as the top by *makara* heads from the gaping mouths of which issues the *prabhāvalī*. With the left leg raised Śiva dances in ecstatic joy with the *jaṭās* swirling all around scattering flowers like stars in the sky, and from one of them, with her hands joined in adoration, Gaṅgā issues respectfully to watch with wonder the dance of her consort. The drum in the hand of Śiva suggestive of sound produced, suggests creation ; the hand in *abhaya*, protection ; the hand carrying the flame, destruction or death ; and the hand in *daṇḍahasta* or *karihasta* pointing to the foot raised assures salvation to the devotee that places his trust in his feet. The crushing of *avidyā* or ignorance in the form of the dwarf below his feet points to the emergence of knowledge or wisdom in the form of the crescent-moon on his locks, which is bound to culminate in the full moon or the fullness of knowledge, which would make the philosopher who attains this realise in terms of disregard for likes and dislikes and difference between good and evil ; as for one who realises the Supreme there is nothing that is bad or abhorrent ; and the skull and the hissing snake and the unwelcome *dhuttūra* flower are equally acceptable like the pleasing moon, in whose vicinity Śiva has all these as his decoration. There is a small *kiṅkiṇī* bell on the left leg of Śiva which is a characteristic of several later Choḷa bronzes. This magnificent sculpture is of late Choḷa date and may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.

Another masterpiece of late Choḷa workmanship is a Vishṇu (Plate XLI, Figs. 9 and 9A) that was acquired along with this Naṭeśa for the National Museum. The jewellery and decoration of this figure as also the anatomy are characteristic of this period ; the necklet, the jewelled armlet the *kirīṭa*, the *yajnopavīta* separating itself into strands, the *udarabandha*, the elaborate *kaṭisūtra* with the loop narrowed in the centre and held together with small ribbon tassels issuing from the wide open mouth of the *siṁhamukha* decoration of the *kaṭisūtra*, the folds of the under-garment decorated with circular patterns and the side tassels are all characteristic of late Choḷa workmanship. The *chakra*, and the *śaṅkha* also point to the same date, the former being at a diagonal of 45 degrees. The *śiraschakra* of this figure (see Fig. 9A) still retains the beautiful lotus pattern that is so characteristic of such still earlier decoration. Though the face is circular and not somewhat oval as in some of the earlier figures, it has yet an abundance of grace that marks it as a masterpiece of late Choḷa workmanship.

Fig. 9. Vishṇu. South Indian metal image.
Provenance unknown. Late Chola period.
Twelfth century A.D.
National Museum, New Delhi.

Fig. 9A. Rear view of Fig. 9.

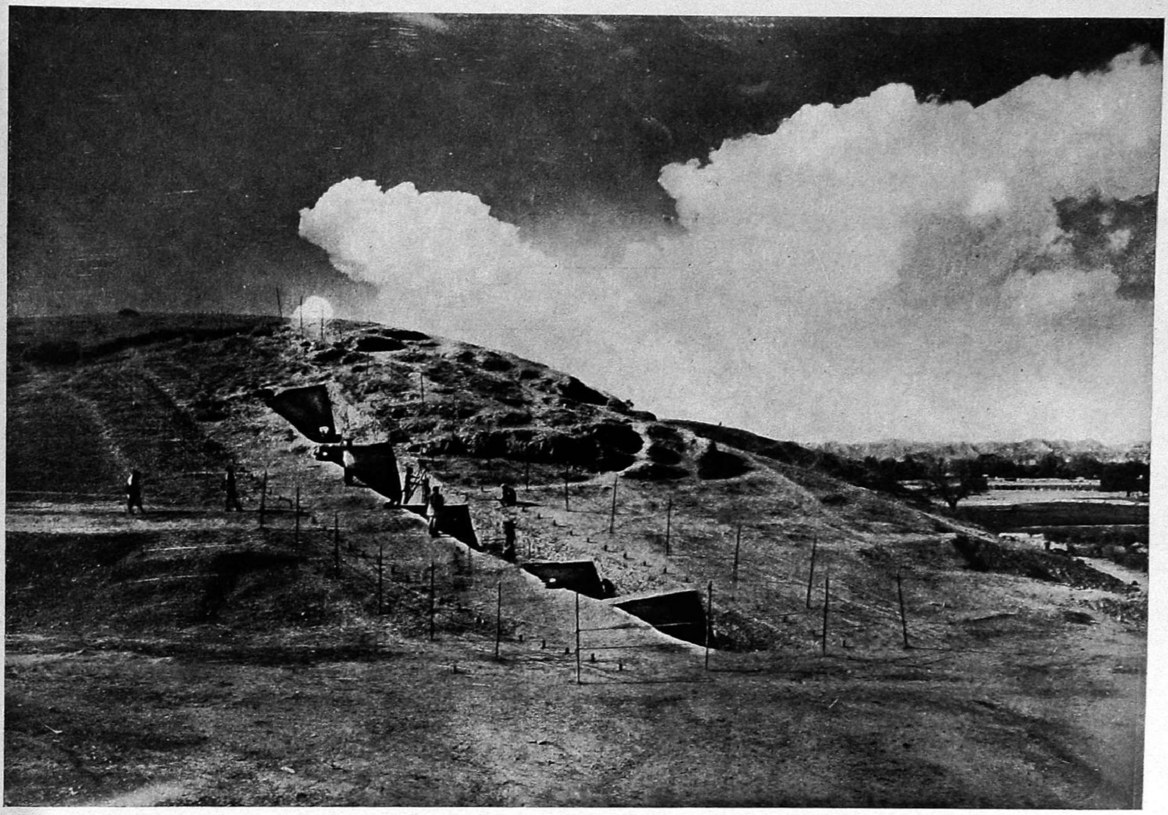

Fig. 1. General view of the excavations at Rupar, Ambala District, Punjab.

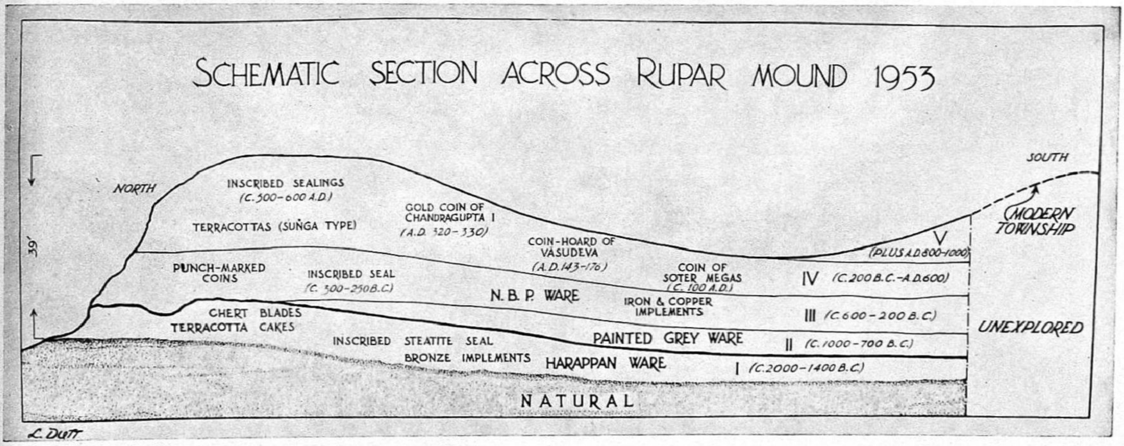

Fig. 2. Diagrams of the Six Periods at Rupar.

PAST PATTERNS IN LIVING AS UNFOLDED BY EXCAVATIONS AT RUPAR

DR. Y. D. SHARMA

It has taken long years and endless patience to gradually build up the present structure of Indian archaeology. Till the early twenties of the current century a Vedic Age was recognized by indologists, but the text-books on Indian history began more or less with the invasion of Alexander the Great in 326 B.C. and the establishment of the Mauryan Empire not long after. At best, proved historic facts could be taken back to about the time of the Buddha. It was no wonder, therefore, that writing in the *Cambridge History of India*, published in 1922, Sir John Marshall could think of no earlier remains than the Cyclopean walls of Rajgir, datable to the sixth century B.C. Soon thereafter, however, the discovery of Harappa and Mohenjodaro by two eminent Indian archaeologists, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and Rakhaldas Banerji, pushed back the history of the Indian sub-continent by about two millennia. Civilization in India thereby extended its chronological frontiers, but the latest discoveries also underlined an almost total absence of known archaeological remains datable to the period from mid-second to mid-first millennium B.C. — from the end of the Harappa civilization to the epoch of the Buddha. This long lacuna of a thousand years, the so-called 'Dark Age' of Indian history, presented a standing challenge to the archaeologists for several decades.

BEGINNING OF CERAMIC STUDIES

Unfortunately for Indian archaeology the important industry of pottery, which constitutes an essential element of what Henri Frankfort terms the 'form' of a civilization, was highly undervalued by early excavators. All their energies were directed towards exposing buildings and collecting sculptures, coins, sealings and epigraphs in the largest number possible, without much reference to their stratigraphic context. But with the excavations of Ahichchattra during 1940-1944, an attempt was made to classify pottery, and an important impetus came not long afterwards when excavations were renewed in 1944 at the famous university town of Taxila. For here the highly individualistic shiny ware, often but not necessarily black, and known to archaeologists as the Northern Black Polished Ware, was found considerably lower than two coin-hoards of *circa* 300 B.C., which for the first time established that this ware was in wide use

between the fifth and third centuries B.C. In time the discovery of another ceramic tradition below the deposits of the Northern Black Polished Ware took us an important step further. This was a fine grey ware, usually painted with highly characteristic designs of lines and dots in black making geometric patterns. From this stratigraphic position, the Painted Grey Ware, as it is generally known, was dated approximately to the close of the second millennium B.C., with some possibility of extension of its lower limit.

EXCAVATIONS AT RUPAR

The recent excavations at Rupar (Pl. XLII, Fig. 1) in Ambala District, carried out by the author as part of the excavation-programme of the Central Department of Archaeology, have taken the story an important stage further. For they have revealed here an almost continuous sequence of occupations, superimposed one upon another, from the Harappa to modern times, with short breaks in between them.

Situated at the point where the Sutlej rushes with a dash into the plains, Rupar occupies an exceptionally advantageous position, which accounts for its repeated occupation. Its fertile alluvium produced ample food, and the river and Śivaliks not only gave it a unique setting of picturesqueness, they also afforded it protection from likely raiders. The narrow width of the river, however, also made it easy for the invader to cross it here and be in the heart of India at one single leap, and that may account for the repeated destruction of the town in mediaeval times.

RUPAR I

The long past of Rupar may be divided into six periods (Pl. XLII, Fig. 2). The first civilized folk to settle here were the Harappans, whose settlement lies 30-50 ft. below the summit of the mound on natural formations of the Śivaliks heavily eroded by countless rains. These riverine people marched upstream from their homes in the Indus Valley, and establishing their towns and villages on the way reached Rupar towards the end of the third millennium B.C. The full course of their journey is not yet clear. But we find ample traces of them in the Bikaner desert along the dried-up beds of the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī. With the discovery of their presence on the upper Sutlej, not only at Rupar, but also at other places in the neighbourhood, on the Sutlej and its tributaries, it seems likely that from the Sarasvatī they proceeded on to Sutlej, as both these rivers belonged to one system in the distant past.

The Harappans built their first houses mainly with sun-baked bricks, river pebbles and cut *kaṅkar* stones, using mud as mortar. The kiln-burnt brick was, however, known to them, and

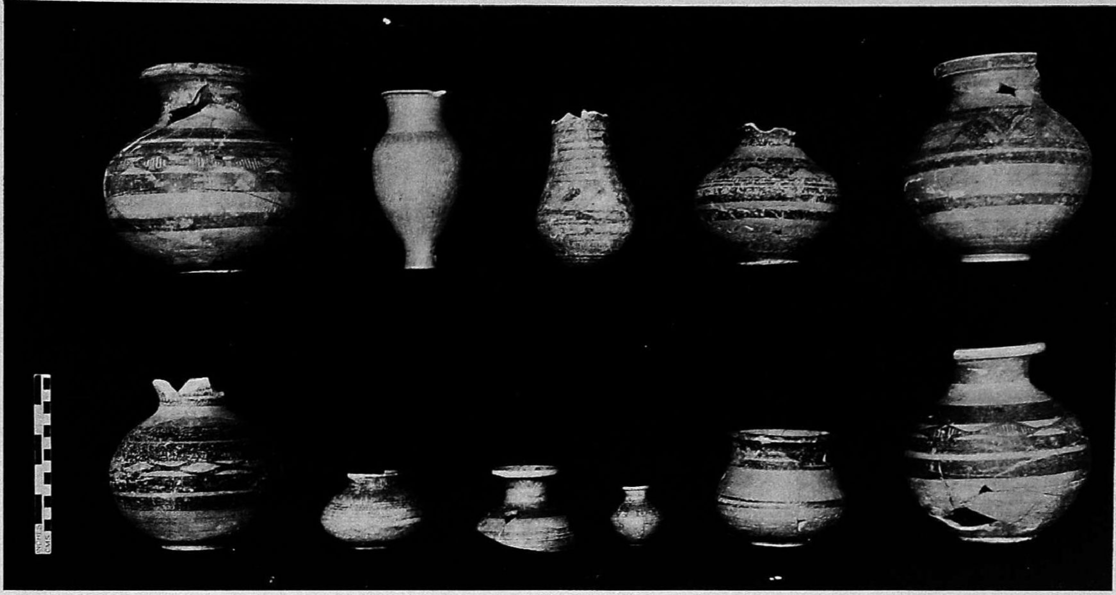

Fig. 3. Earthenware of Harappa period.

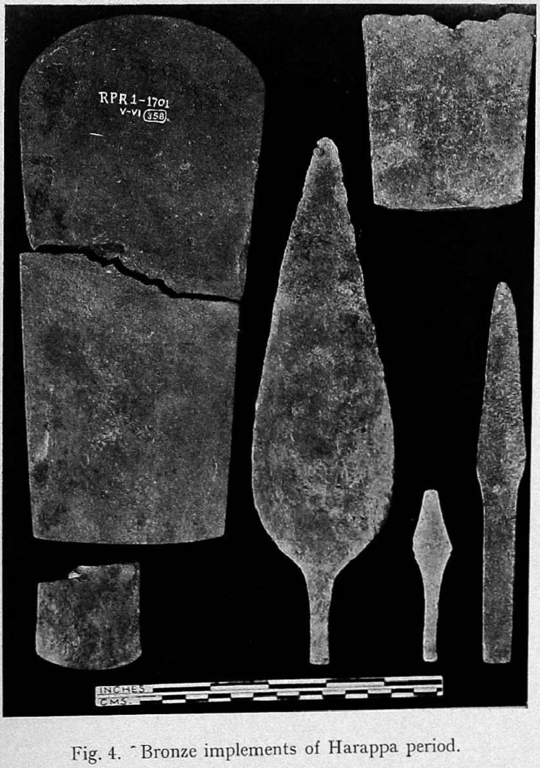

Fig. 4. Bronze implements of Harappa period.

Fig. 5. Chert blades of Harappa period.

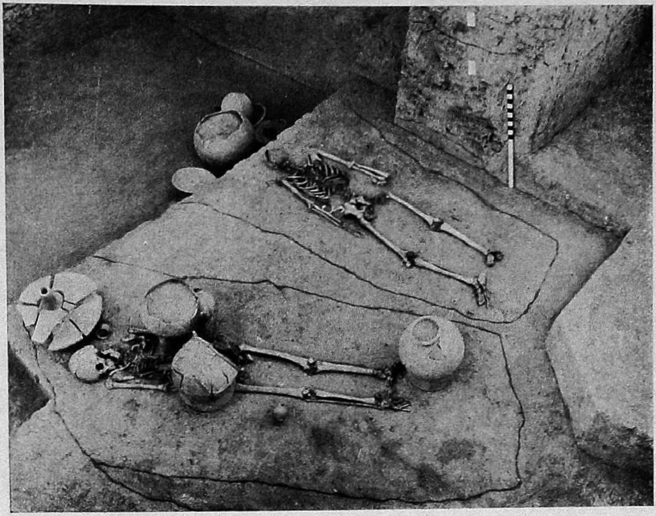

Fig. 6. Two Harappan burials with the funerary goods at Rupar.

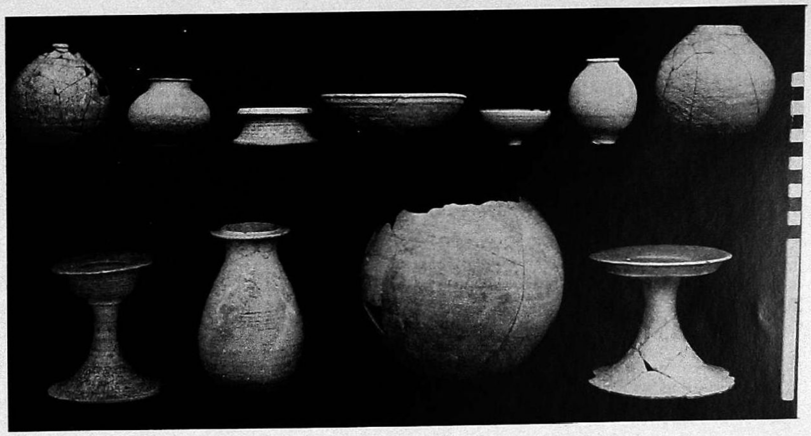

Fig. 7. Funerary earthenware from Harappan graves at Rupar.

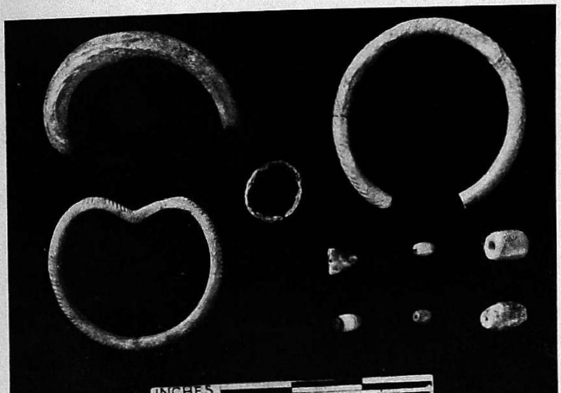

Fig. 8. Personal ornaments from Harappan graves at Rupar.

it did not take them long to bring it into use. The excavations have exposed four phases of their buildings, but there may be others which have not been encountered in the limited excavated area.

Typical earthenware (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 3), bronze implements (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 4) and utensils, beads and bangles of faience, terracotta cakes of uncertain use and chert weights and blades (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 5), form the bulk of the essential equipment of Harappan people. The pottery types include the dish-on-stand, cylindrical beaker, elliptical vase, flat platter, shallow basin and perforated brazier.

A cemetery of Harappa period has also been excavated at Rupar. It was found considerably disturbed by later occupants of the site, mainly by the users of the Painted Grey Ware, but some of the burials were sufficiently intact to give an adequate idea of the method of burial (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 6).

The body was laid in grave pits, measuring 8 ft. × 3 ft. × 2 ft. deep on an average. The head was usually placed on north-west. Most of the burials contained an assemblage of pots (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 7), and some of them also revealed personal ornaments such as bangles of faience or shell and beads (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 8). A faience bangle was still on the left wrist of the wearer, while in another skeleton the middle finger of the right hand had a copper ring.

It is fully recognized now that there is nothing primitive about the arts and crafts of the Harappans. Their earthenware exhibits varied shapes, with sophisticated and developed sensibility and aesthetic appeal entailing an advanced technique. They are familiar with polychrome pottery and their paintings on pottery include firm geometric and naturalistic designs (Pl. XLV, Fig. 9), including figures of animals and birds. The crudeness of their terracotta figurines representing the Mother Goddess, obviously manufactured in huge numbers to cope up with the possible ritual needs of the people, is offset by fine figures in faience and clay and by such famous works of art as the sandstone and grey stone male statues and the bronze dancing figure, all earlier discovered at Harappa or Mohenjodaro.

The entire range of objects discovered at Harappa and Mohenjodaro is certainly not represented at Rupar. Several factors may, however, be responsible for this. Rupar was no doubt an important settlement, but it could by no means compete with the metropolitan status of Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Allowance must also be made for the fact that Rupar has so far been excavated on an extremely limited scale, and quite possibly, further work may bring out specimens of art hitherto regarded as absent. On the other hand, by the time the Harappans reached Rupar, their civilization, including the traditional conceptions of art and decoration, must also have undergone a transformation.

It is, however, now clear that the civilization of the Harappans was not as static as some scholars would have us believe. The absence of any figurine of Mother Goddess at Rupar may be due to the fact that the ritual connected with it had gone out of vogue. Among pottery shapes, the typical goblet with pointed bottom had now been replaced by a flat-bottomed vase. And while some of the characteristic paintings on pottery continued, a new tradition of decorating pottery with incised designs was introduced. Beads were, however, still prepared with the old material and in the same rich designs. The single Harappan steatite seal found at Rupar (Pl. XLV, Fig. 10), is manufactured with the same material and bears pictographic symbols on the obverse and concentric circles on the reverse, much as the seals found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro did, but its thinness and small size, without any perforated boss at the back or other arrangement to suspend it, places it in a class by itself.

From these new traditions in the industries, arts and crafts practised by the Harappans, and from the fact that there exists apparently a process of gradual transformation from lower to upper deposits, it is clear that the phase of Harappa culture represented at Rupar is later than the mature Harappa culture that existed at the type-site. The Harappans might have reached Rupar at the end of the third millennium B.C. and probably continued to live there till past the middle of the second millennium B.C.

RUPAR II

Why and in what circumstances the Harappans left Rupar, it is difficult to tell. The site appears to have remained uninhabited for a considerable time after their departure, till about the end of the second millennium B.C., another people of a different stock came and settled there. These people used the so-called Painted Grey Ware (Pl. XLV, Figs. 11 and 12), to which reference has been made earlier and which is now known to occur at a number of sites in the Punjab, Rajputana and Western Uttar Pradesh. In Rajputana, it occurs along the dried-up beds of the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī, but no information is as yet available whether it is also present in West Pakistan, and if so in which region.

There is no definite proof as yet as to the identity of the users of the Painted Grey Ware, but there are strong indications that they were possibly the early Aryans. Their ware occurs plentifully in the area which, from literary sources, appears to have been occupied by the Aryans. The date of this ware, based on stratigraphy, also tallies with the date of the Aryans.

Curiously enough, no traces of the houses in which the Painted Grey Ware people lived have been found, and at this stage it is rather premature to define exactly the type of houses they might have occupied. One can only think of thatched and mud-built huts which would not leave easily

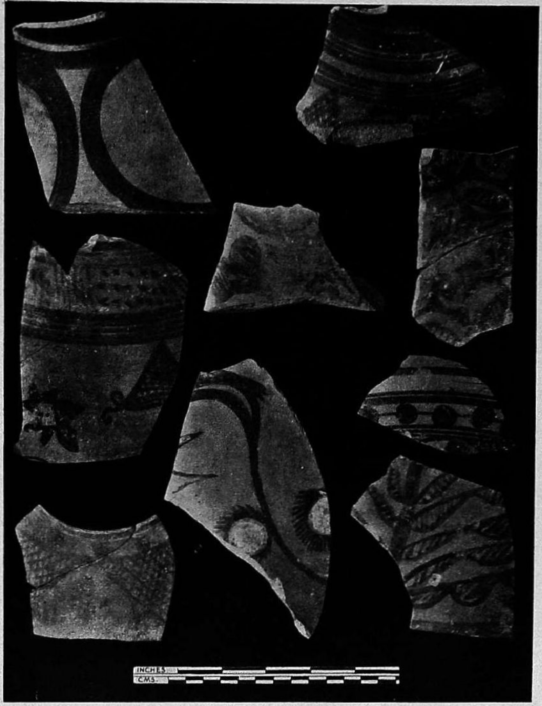

Fig. 9. Some designs in black painted or red-slipped Harappan pottery.

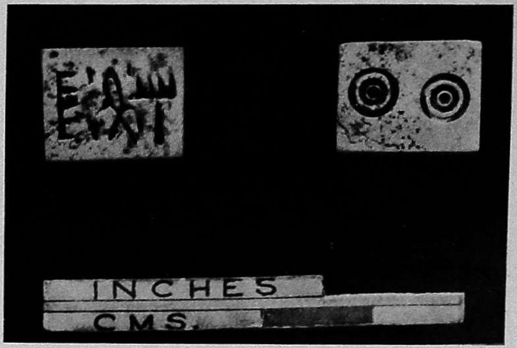

Fig. 10. Harappan seal from Rupar.

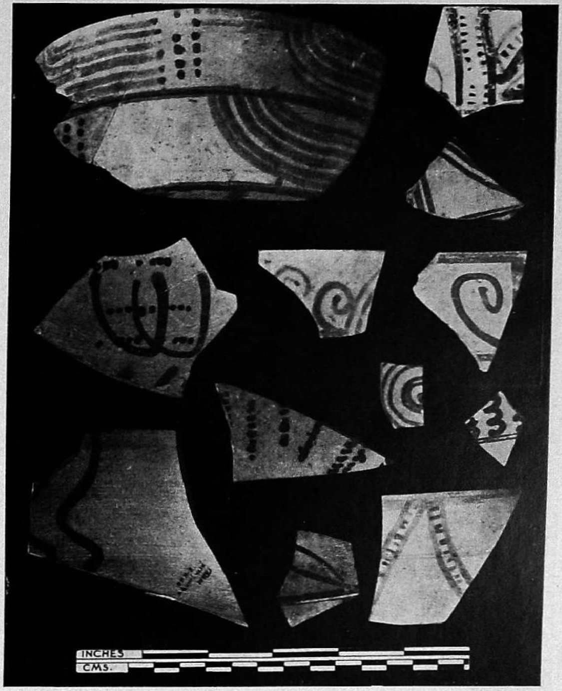

Fig. 12. Some typical designs on Painted Grey Ware.

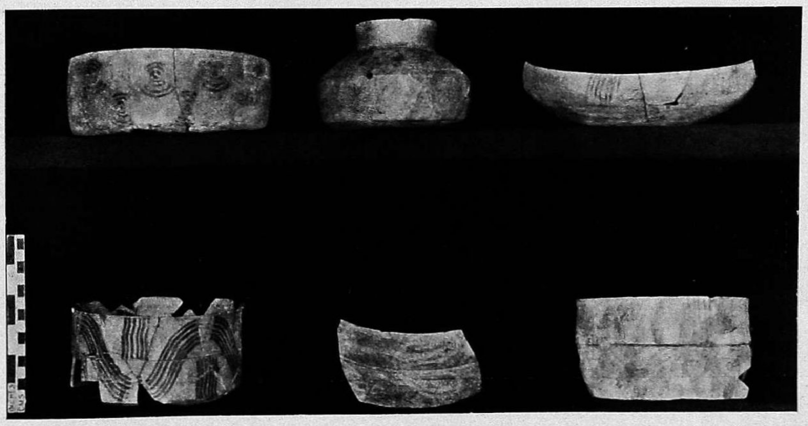

Fig. 11. Painted Grey Ware, Rupar.

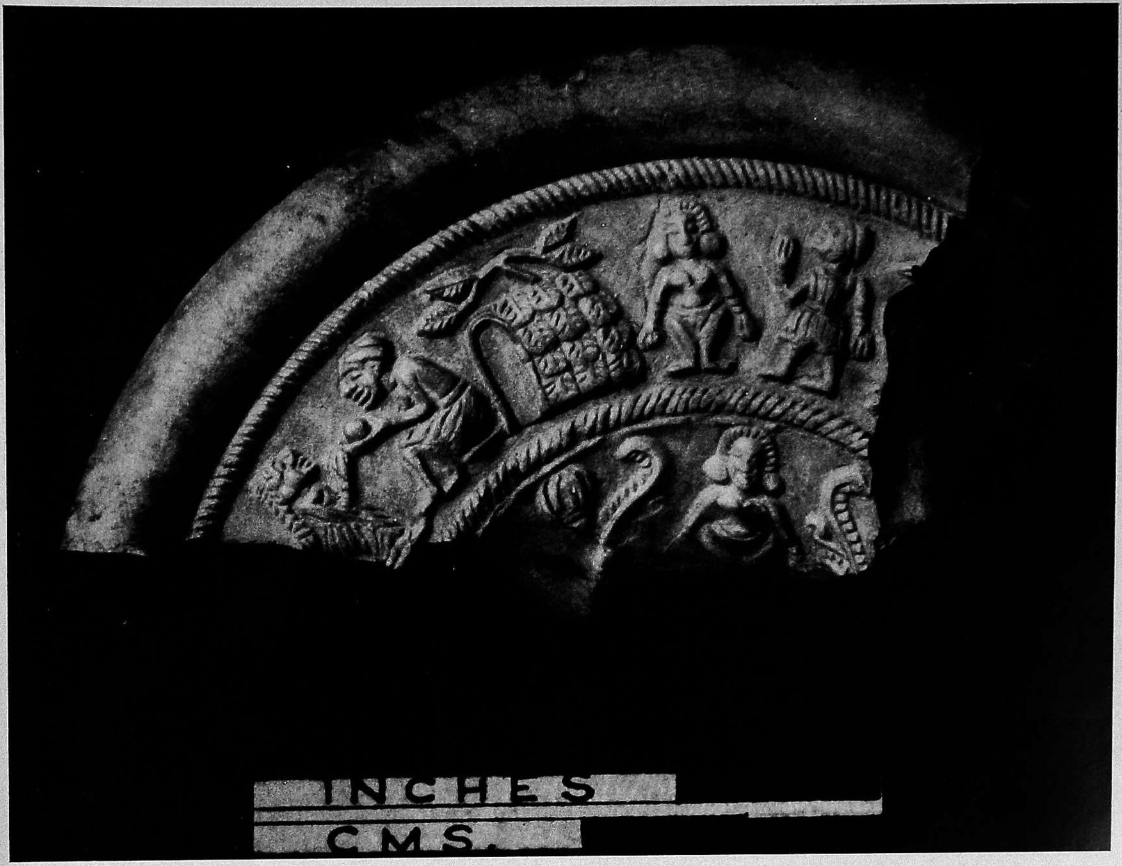

Fig. 13. Carved stone disc from Rupar III (600-200 B.C.).

Fig. 14. Figure of Mother Goddess on a broken bronze object, from Rupar III (200-600 B.C.).

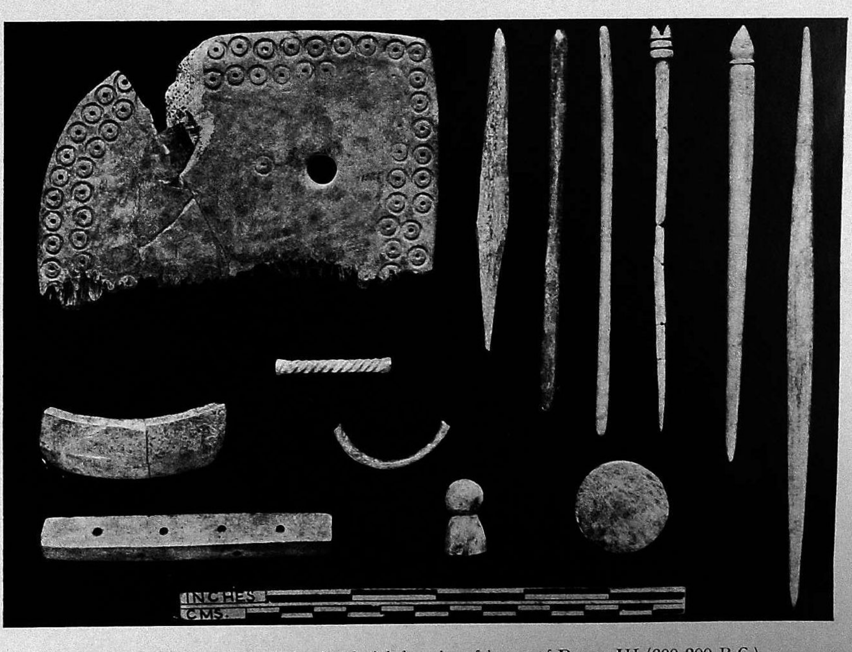

Fig. 15. Cosmetic and other knick-knacks of ivory of Rupar III (600-200 B.C.)

identifiable traces. However, it is this civilization — howsoever meagre its manifestations — which essentially fills up the 'Dark Age' gap. Its true position in the succession of cultures has become clear from excavations at Rupar.

Although the material equipment of the Painted Grey Ware people that has hitherto come to light is extremely limited, its manufacturing technique is reasonably advanced. Their pottery is definitely attractive and they are conversant with the manufacture of beads, not merely of semi-precious stones of variegated colours, but also of glass and bone. Glass bangles were also worn by them, and in India at least they appear to be the earliest people to whom glass is known. They were, however, still using bronze, as apparent from excavations at Hastinapur, and iron was as yet not known to them.

RUPAR III

Till about 700 B.C., the authors of the Painted Grey Ware remained at Rupar. The town was then deserted, but re-occupied about 600 B.C. Civilization by now had advanced by strides. In addition to bronze, people had learnt the manufacture and use of iron. Trade and commerce had taken a new turn, for the so-called punch-marked coins were now in wide circulation. A smithy's workshop of this period also bore traces of manufacture of beads of agate.

Another characteristic industry of this time was the polished pottery, known as Northern Black Polished Ware, which was used side by side with plain and red pottery. The third settlement of Rupar lasted from *circa* 600 to 200 B.C., and witnessed the rule of the Mauryas at its upper end. It is, therefore, only natural that we should have come across several objects bearing the stamp of skilled Mauryan craftsmanship. Among these objects is a fine broken stone disc carved minutely with the figure of Goddess of Fertility, possibly to be identified with Aditī (Pl. XLVI, Fig. 13). The features of the Goddess recall the gold figure of the Mother Goddess recovered from the *stūpa* of Piprawa in Basti District of Uttar Pradesh with its exaggerated hips. A similar figure also exists on the broken upper end of a bronze object recovered from Rupar (Pl. XLVI, Fig. 14). The incomplete scene on the disc shows an aged ascetic outside a leaf-made hut (*parṇa-kuṭī*) with a female devotee receiving something from the hands of the ascetic. Possibly she is desirous of progeny and has come to offer worship at a shrine of the Goddess. A kilted figure on the other side of the hut remains unexplained. It may be noticed that similar discs, carved with the Goddess of Fertility or associated motifs have been earlier recovered from Kosam, Samkisa, Mathura, Rajghat, Taxila and Patna, although they do not bear such graphic representation as the disc from Rupar.

Cosmetic knickknack of ivory, such as combs, hair-pins and collyrium sticks also abound in these levels (Pl. XLVI, Fig. 15). Other objects include a beautifully carved handle (Pl. XLVII, Fig. 16), legbase of a pedestal, a stopper (?) with a figure of elephant etched on it, dice and stylii. An interesting relic is an ivory seal inscribed in Brahmi (Pl. XLVII, Fig. 17), ; it reads *Bhada-pālakasa,* equivalent to Sanskrit *Bhadrapālakasya* which means '(seal of) the protector of the Good', possibly a title of a Buddhist ruler or more likely of the head of a monastery. Toys of baked clay, including carts, animals and birds were also in plentiful use in this period (Pl. XLVII, Fig. 18).

The houses of Rupar III are built mostly with cut *kaṅkar* stone, but brick has also been used. A 12 ft. wide brick-built wall, proceeding in a curve at its two exposed ends, appears to have been the retaining wall of a large tank fed by rain water through a brick-built inlet (Pl. XLVII, Fig. 19). A unique feature of the town life of this period was a remarkable sanitary arrangement consisting of deep soakage wells lined with burnt rings of clay (Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 20). This is where the town-dweller deposited the refuse and sewage of his house. Often these soakage wells occur in clusters, indicating thereby that once a soakage well was full another was dug up nearby.

RUPAR IV

The Northern Black Polished Ware remained in use till about the second century B.C. With the Sungas, who followed the Mauryas, a typical school of art grew up. Although there is no perceptible break in occupation at the end of the Maurya rule, the new traditions in art and industry suggest that *circa* 200 B.C. may be taken as the beginning of the new period.

Nude Yaksha figures, with cherubic expression, wearing rich ornaments, and well-modelled figures of Yakshīs standing under a tree are the cult images of this period (Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 21). Kushāṇa modelling in clay is apparent on several broken terracotta figurines showing fine folds in drapery. A bronze figure of a Yājñika Brāhmaṇa, with excavated features and wearing the sacred thread and a turban (Pl. XLIX, Fig. 22), is an interesting relic, conforming to descriptions of such Brāhmaṇas in literature.

A couple of broken circular stone plaques of Gupta period bear quite realistic representations of elephants, and particularly remarkable is a stag-hunting scene (Pl. XLIX, Fig. 23). Gupta terracottas are not many, but include an extremely beautiful figure of a maiden playing on the *vīṇā* (Pl. XLIX, Fig. 24). As the *vīṇā* lies between the player's thighs and breasts, one is reminded of the description of Vāsavadattā's *vīṇā* in the *Svapnavāsavadattā* of Bhāsa (*Stanayugale jaghanasthale cha suptā*). It also recalls the figure of Samudragupta in likewise position on his coins. Another example of well-balanced mature Gupta craftsmanship is supplied by a set of

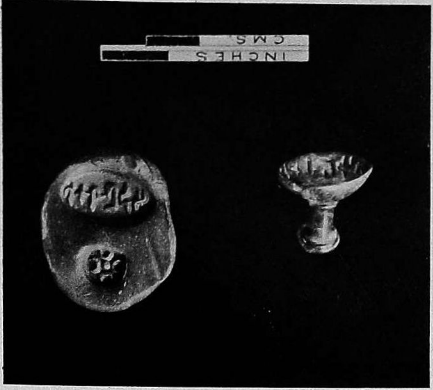

Fig. 17. Ivory seal in Maurya Brāhmi script with its impression.

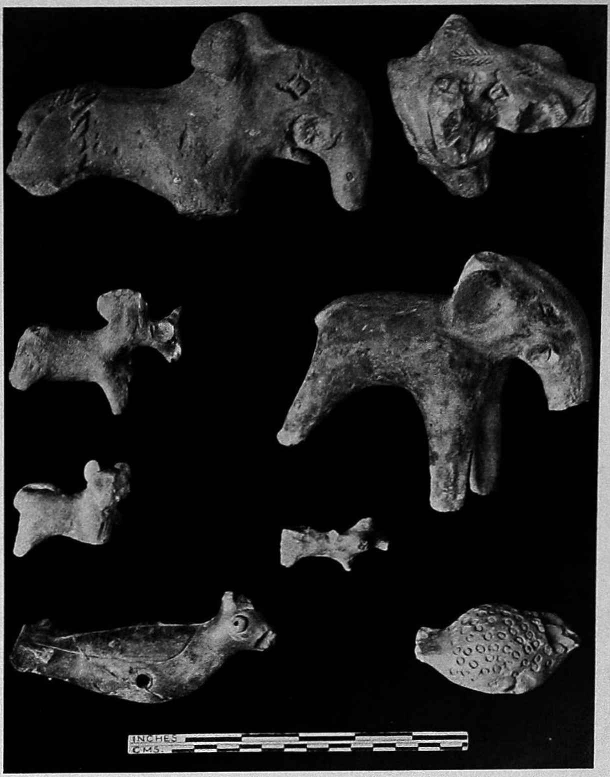

Fig. 18. Terracotta toys of Rupar III (600-200 B.C.).

Fig. 16. Carved ivory handle. Length 4.2 ins.

Fig. 19. Retaining wall of a large tank with inlet to feed the tank from rain water. Rupar III (600-200 B.C.).

Fig. 21. Yakshī and Yaksha figures of Śuṅga period from Rupar IV.

Fig. 20. A cluster of soak-wells of Rupar III (600-200 B.C.).

three silver utensils of ritual use. The ladle (Pl. L, Fig. 25), used for taking out *ghee* from a larger vessel has counterparts in similar ladles of bronze or silver found at Taxila. But both the spoon (Pl. L, Fig. 25) and the pedestalled cup (Pl. J and Pl. L, Fig. 25) are unique. The long handle of the spoon with twisted rod (Pl. L, Fig. 25) is singularly attractive and new in design. Although silver goblets with carinated waist have been discovered earlier at Taxila, they are without handles and different in shape. The fine chase-work on the cup from Rupar displays subdued yet effective decoration, particularly appropriate for a vessel which was intended for a sober ritual or worship (Pl. J).

The pedestalled cup may be traced back to a shape which originated obviously from Hellenistic *kantharos*, since such bronze and silver vessels in clay have been found in large number at Taxila and in clay also at Rupar. A bronze disc, with perforated bosses at back showing a winged griffin (Pl. L, Fig. 26), recalls such representation on stone toilet trays found at Taxila. A small clay sealing bears a lion and stag motif and can be compared with the representation of the same motif on certain gems found at Taxila which appear to be in a tradition current in the Mediterranean in the 4th-5th centuries B.C. (Pl. LI, Fig. 27).

A vast variety of sophisticated types in earthenware emerges in the early centuries of the Christian era (Pl. L, Fig. 28), some of which, as already indicated above, bear the imprint of Greek contact. A good proportion of the pottery of this period is decorated with distinctive naturalistic or religious motifs, impressed, notched or incised.

The duration of Rupar IV covers a period when Indian coinage made great technical advance and developed several types. Coins of the Indo-Greek Antialcidas (second half of the second century B.C.) and of the nameless Indo-Parthian king with the title of *Soter Megas* (*circa* 100 A.D.) found at Rupar bespeak at least contact with if not actual jurisdiction of the Indo-Greeks. Another interesting object is a clay mould made from a coin of Appolodotus II (first century B.C.). Tribal coins are represented by those of Audumbaras, Kuṇindas (*circa* 100 B.C. to 100 A.D.) and Taxila and Mathura Kings (*circa* 200-100 B.C.). There are a number of Kushāṇa coins and a hoard of over 600 copper coins, mainly of Vāsudeva (*circa* 200 A.D.). To the Gupta period belongs a beautiful gold specimen of Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type (Pl. LI, Fig. 29). Several clay sealings in Gupta script of the 5th-6th centuries A.D. bear names (Pl. LI, Fig. 30), but these names are not otherwise known in Indian history.

RUPAR V

About 600 A.D. there was possibly a short desertion, but the town was soon occupied for the fifth time. But this time only the southern portion of the mound was chosen for habitation. It is

PLATE J. Silver cup and ladle from Rupar IV. Gupta period. See Pl. L, Fig. 25. The cup has been judiciously cleaned after excavation. The purplish-blackish patination has not been entirely removed.

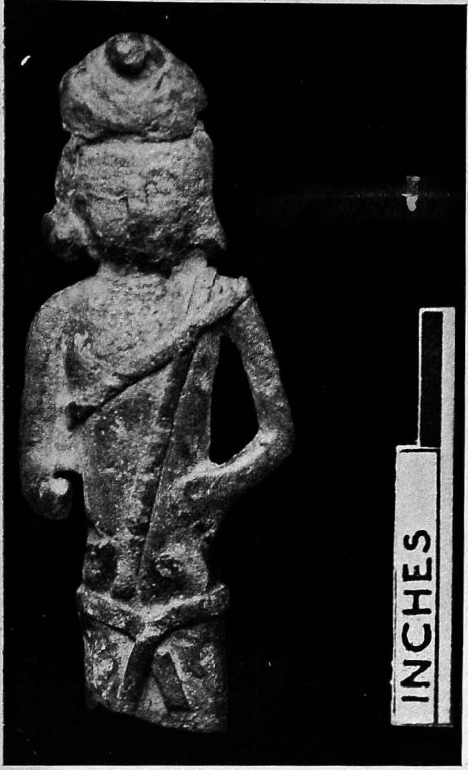

Fig. 22. Copper figure of a Yājñika Brāhmaṇa from Rupar IV.

Fig. 24. Gupta period figurine of clay showing a maiden playing on the *vīnā*. Rupar IV.

Fig. 23. Stone plaque showing hunting scene. Rupar IV.

Fig. 25. Silver utensils of ritual use from Rupar IV.

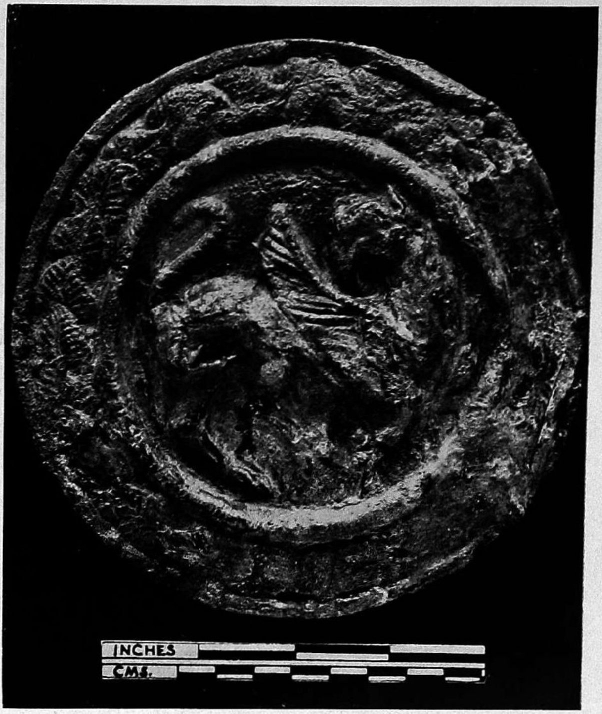

Fig. 26. Copper disc with winged griffin. Rupar IV.

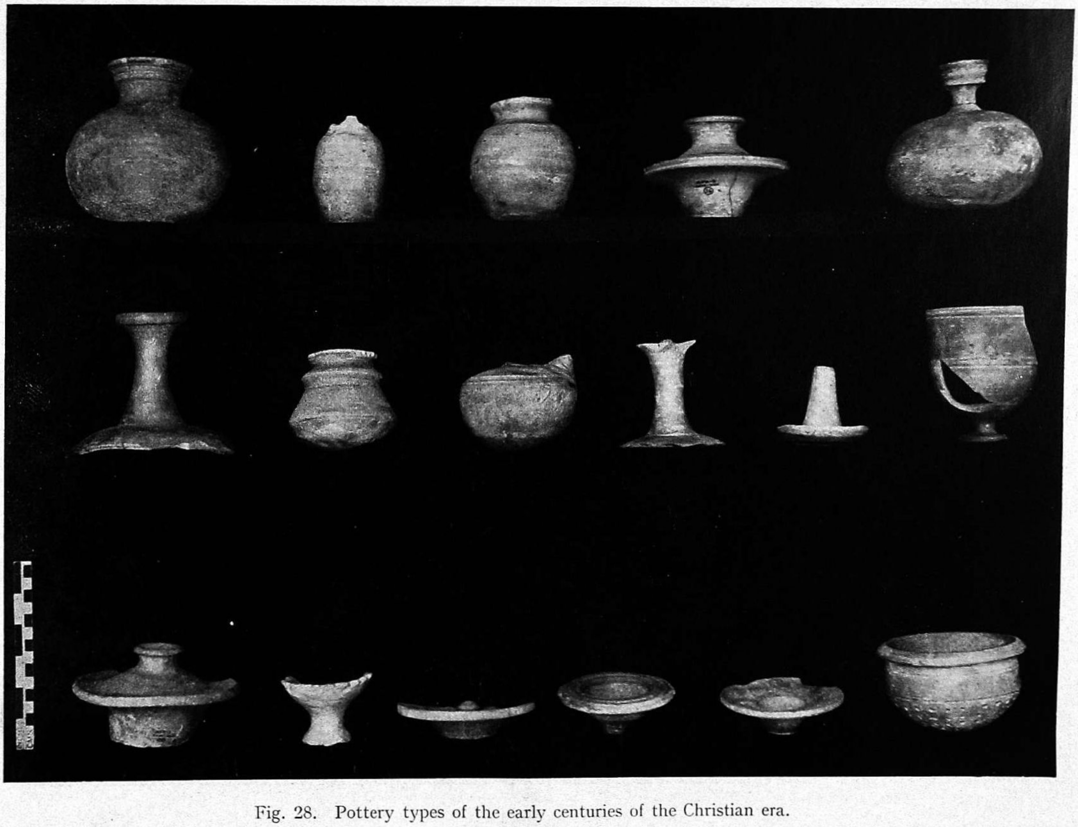

Fig. 28. Pottery types of the early centuries of the Christian era.

Fig. 27. Clay sealing lion and tag motif. Rupar IV.

Fig. 30. Clay sealings in Gupta script. Rupar IV.

Fig. 29. Gold coin of Chandragupta I. Rupar IV.

Fig. 31. Brick houses of the 8th-10th centuries A.D.

Fig. 1. Ardhanārīśvara from Ābānerī.
Collection of Maharaja of Jaipur.
See p. 130.

Fig. 2. Gaṇapati from Ābānerī.
Collection of Maharaja of Jaipur.
See p. 130.

difficult to say why this desertion took place, but it is probably significant that in the accumulations of Rupar V we find coins of the Huna ruler Mihiragula (*circa* 510-540 A.D.). Possibly the end of Rupar IV must be ascribed to the devastating attacks of the Hunas. Unfortunately most of the fifth settlement of Rupar lies immediately below the present town, which has not allowed us to excavate here to any great extent. However, the limited operations have laid bare several well-made brick houses of the 8th-10th centuries bespeaking considerable prosperity (Pl. LI, Fig. 31).

RUPAR VI

There was possibly another desertion about 1000 A.D. or thereafter, for the subsequent remains, mainly on surface, seem to date from the 13th century. The typical polychrome glazed ware associated with the Muslims is found in abundance in the top fillings of the mound. The small *lakhauri* brick, generally used by the Mughals, abounds here and may be seen reused in pavements of the streets. In fact, at the north-western tip of the mound there is a large deserted kiln where these bricks were burnt. Mughal coins have also been obtained from the surface.

According to local tradition, Rupar 'was formerly known as Rup Nagar' and 'at the time of early Muhammadan invasions of India a Raja called Rokeshar ruled here, who founded the town and called it after his son Rup Sen'. This tradition may or may not be correct, but it is significant that the last reoccupation of the town took place about the early Muhammadan times. Since then the town has been continuously occupied, although we bring Rupar VI to a close about the 17th century, in order to separate the archaeological material from the recent accumulations.

The main centres of the earliest civilization of Rupar now lie in Pakistan, but its extension at least up to Rupar has brought this civilization nearer the heart of India, not very far from the Ganga-Yamuna Doab, which witnessed historic events during the expansion of the Aryans. Rupar has preserved not merely the remains of its succeeding townships: to the student of culture it has provided a pattern of succeeding civilizations in northern India.

SCULPTURES FROM ĀBĀNERĪ, RAJASTHAN

R. C. AGRAWALA

THE sculptures from the ancient temple of Harshatmātā at Ābānerī[1] (or Ābhānerī) are of considerable importance for the study of ancient Indian iconography. A few years ago some very interesting specimens from this site were removed to Jaipur by the Chief Superintendent of Archaeology & Museums. They belong to the post-Gupta or early Mediaeval period. Quite a number of them are now exhibited in the open verandahs of the archaeological museum at Āmer (or Āmber, distant about 6 miles from Jaipur), while a few select pieces form part of the valuable collection of His Highness the Maharaj of Jaipur.

It is proposed to present here a short account of the sculptural material from Ābānerī which once had a profusely carved temple of the post-Gupta period (8-9th centuries A.D.). The art of this locality is in no way inferior to that of the well known temples of Osian (Marwar), Ramgarh (Kotah) and Kiraḍu (Marwar). Moreover the existing sculptural material from Ābānerī bears testimony to the popularity of Brahmanism in that region, while the influence of Gupta art is visible at a glance.

1. ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA — PL. LII, FIG. 1. Size 18 × 22 inches approx.

The Gupta artists were very successful in depicting 'a synthesis between the eternal pair of opposites by presenting the deity as half male and half female', a form now popularly known as *Ardhanārīśvara.*[2] This form of Śiva was of course iconographically evolved in the Kushāṇa period. The example from Ābānerī (now in the collection of the Maharaj of Jaipur) depicts this form in a very attractive manner. It was originally in a niche outside the main temple at Ābānerī. The male half is endowed with two hands, holding a lotus in the right lower and a trident (with a cobra encircling it) in the right upper. A male attendant of Śiva is seen just

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[1] Situated about 50 miles from Jaipur and only 4 miles to the east of Bandikui Railway Station on the Western Railway. For a short note on the remains and monuments of Ābānerī, see S. P. Srivastava, *As Stones Speak* Series, Pamphlet No. 5, Deptt. of Archaeology, Rajasthan, Jaipur.

[2] T. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras 1916, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 327-32, and Plates.
J. N. Banerjee, *The Classical Age*, Bombay, p. 435 and *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bombay 1955, p. 305.
C. Śivarāmamurti, *Ancient India, Bulletin of Archaeological Survey of India*, New Delhi, Vol. VI, pp. 56-57, Pl. XX etc.
V. S. Agrawala, *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. IX, No. 2, Fig. 57.
Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 126-42.

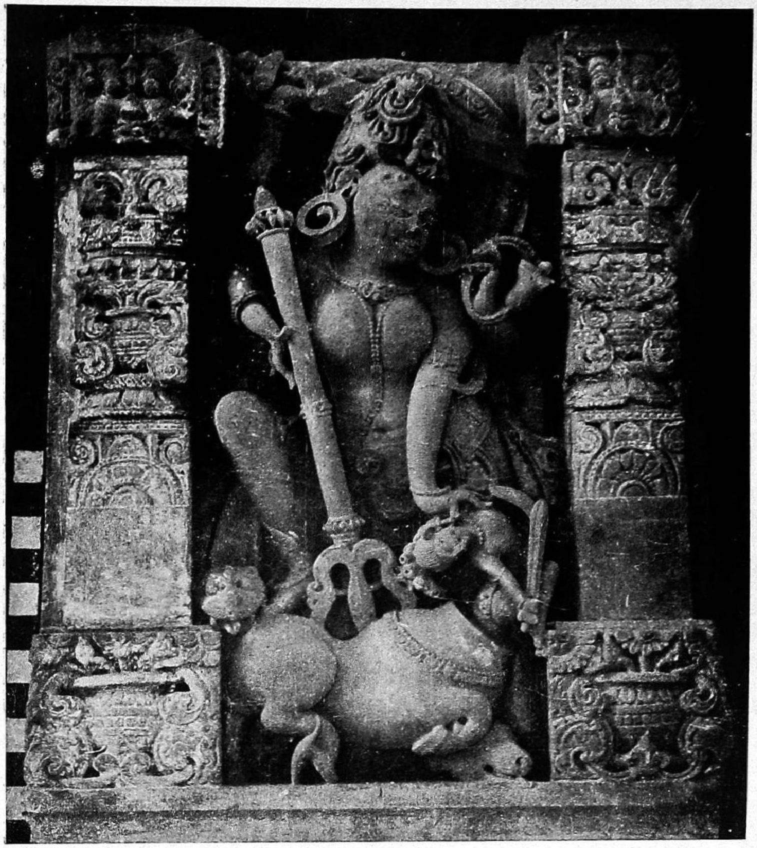

Fig. 3. Mahishāsurmardinī from Ābānerī. Size 25 x 19 ins. Āmer Museum.

Fig. 4. Kesi-Niśūdana from Ābānerī. Size 11 x 15 ins. Āmer Museum.

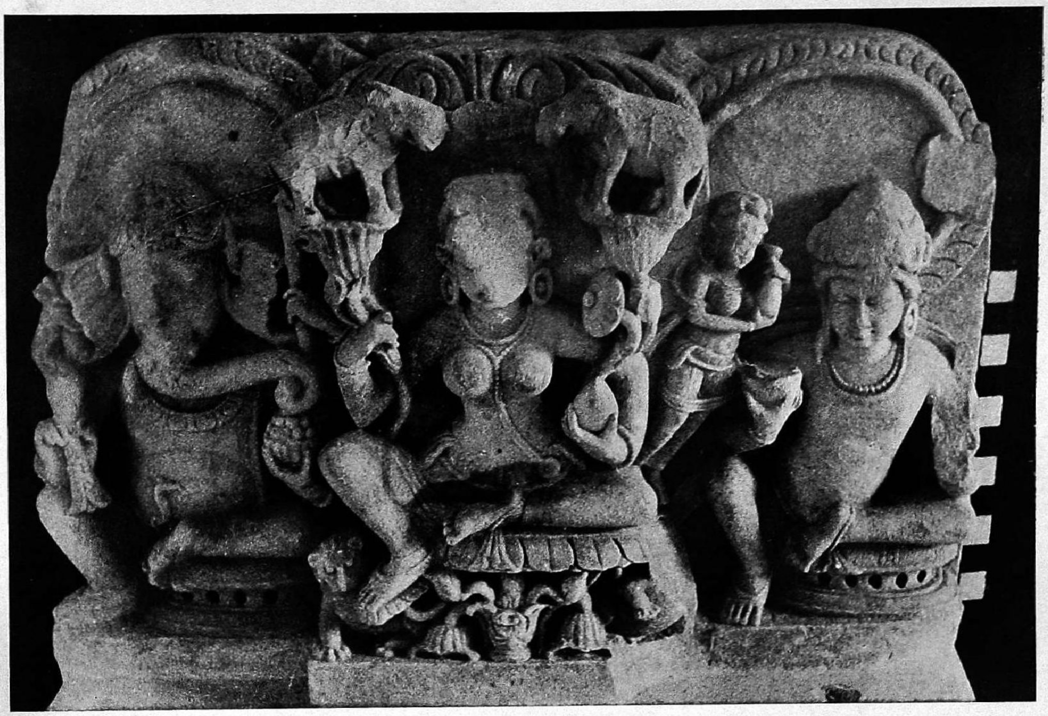

Fig. 5. Gaja Lakshmī from Ābānerī. Size 19 x 26 ins. Āmer Museum.

Fig. 6. Seated Pārvatī from Ābānerī. Āmer Museum.

below the tail of the serpent, while the bull (*Nandi*) is in front of the attendant. The right leg of Śiva is missing but the lion-skin is hanging on the right thigh. The female half of Śiva represents Pārvatī holding a round mirror[1] in the left upper hand, while her lower left hand rests on her hip. To her left is a graceful standing female attendant. The ornaments and hair decoration, both of Śiva and Pārvatī, are most artistically executed. The depiction of the *gajavyālas*, the *aśvavyālas* and the *makaravyālas* (one upon the other) on both the sides adds to the beauty of the composition.

2. GAṆAPATI — PL. LII, FIG. 2

This image (now in the collection of the Maharaj of Jaipur) is four-armed with a halo round the elephant-faced head. The deity is endowed with fan-like ears and a nether garment covers his knees. The ornaments, the dwarf attendant to his left and the vase and foliage (*ghaṭa-pallava*) designs on either side are characterized by the same skilful execution which marks the best work from Ābānerī.

3. MAHISHĀSURAMARDINĪ — PL. LIII, FIG. 3

This rectangular panel (Āmer Museum, AB 1/136) measures about 25" in height and 19" in width. It was originally fixed in a niche outside the main shrine and presents the four-armed goddess in the act of killing the buffalo-demon (*Mahishāsura*). She bears a sword in the right upraised hand; the right lower holds a trident piercing the demon ; the left upper holds a bell (*ghaṇṭā*) and the left lower is placed on the head of the demon[2] who has emerged in human form as a result of the decapitation of his animal head. Her right leg is placed on the back of the buffalo which is also being attacked by the lion vehicle of the goddess. The extreme elegance of the pose of *Mahishamardinī*[3] should be noted. Similar sculptures have also been preserved in the museum at Jhalawar.

4. KEṢI-NIŚŪDANA — PL. LIII, FIG. 4

The antiquity of the cult of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma in Rajasthan can be traced back to very

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[1] A mirror with a long handle is seen in a Śiva-Pārvatī terracotta (early Gupta period) from Rangamahal preserved in the Museum at Bikaner (R. C. Agrawala, 'Some Śaiva antiquities from Rajasthan', *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XIX, Nos. 3-4).

[2] This depiction of the demon both in human and animal form as early as the 8-9th centuries is very interesting from an iconographic point of view. Cf. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. XXII, p. 159, for an early mediaeval statue of Mahishamardinī depicting the *mahisha* in human form. This small sculpture has been preserved in the museum at Mathura. Also compare with a sculpture from Chanderi illustrated in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State 1932-33, Plate X(b).

[3] For sculptures having a bearing on the *Śakti*-cult in Rajasthan see papers published by the writer in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2, pp. 37-46 ; *Artibus Asiae*, Switzerland, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 232-34 ; *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, Vol. XII, No 1, pp. 1-12 etc.

remote times.[1] A fragmentary sculpture from Ābāneri, now preserved in the museum at Āmer (AB/176-77) presents a vivid picture of the well known episode (i.e. *Keśi-Nisūdana*) from the life of Krishṇa. This stone slab measures about 11″ in height and about 15″ in width. Krishṇa, accompanied by his colleague, is depicted here as hurling a blow at the horse-demon Keśi whom he ultimately destroyed. The sculptor has succinctly indicated the result of the encounter by showing the dead animal with its neck lying between the legs of Krishṇa. It is very likely that the ancient temple at Ābāneri was also adorned with other scenes from the life of Krishṇa. But the existing sculpture[2] is the only piece of this nature from Ābāneri and it is now essential to search for more panels which may throw light on this problem. It should be noted that there is a complete absence at Ābāneri of the panels depicting *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes.

5. *SŪRYA*

The sculpture of Sūrya (Āmer Museum, AB/141) measures about 24½″ in height and 19″ in width. It appears to have been in a niche of the shrine. The standing deity bears a circular *tilaka* mark in the centre of the forehead while there is a tiara on the head. The depiction of the Hessian boots as well as of armour on the chest of Sūrya is in strict accordance with iconographic tradition. A male and a female attendant can also be seen on each side of the deity. The familiar vase and foliage motifs flank the composition.

6. *GAJA LAKSHMĪ — PL. LIV, FIG. 5*

This relief (Āmer Museum, AB/4/139) measuring about 19″ in height and 26″ in width, depicts the goddess Lakshmī holding lotus flowers in both her hands. The left hand bears the citron fruit which touches the lotus flower. Just above the lotus flowers are two elephants anointing the goddess who is depicted with very prominent breasts and wearing the usual ornaments on her body. To her right is seen the figure of Gaṇeśa and to her left that of Kubera. All these three figures are seated in the *lalitāsana* pose.[3] The portrayal of *Dhanada* (god of riches),

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[1] This problem has been discussed by the writer in detail in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. XXX, pp. 339-53 ; *Śodhapatrikā* (Hindi), Udaipur, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 1-12.

[2] For details consult B.C. Chabra's paper in the *KalāNidhi* (Hindī), Banaras, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 26-8. This episode can well be compared with that presented in the well known pillars from Maṇḍor carved during the Gupta period. These pillars, measuring about 12 to 13 feet in height, have been preserved in the Jodhpur Museum. Cf. also U.P. Shah's paper in *The Journal of Indian Museums*, Bombay, Vol. VIII, for a Gupta sculpture of this episode from Western India.

[3] A similar combination of these 3 deities in one sculpture can also be seen in an early mediaeval image (ht. 6½″) now preserved in the Mathura Museum (No. 1119) and described by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow, Vol. XXII, p. 150.

Fig. 9. Dancing figure from Ābānerī.
Height 13 inches. Āmer Museum.

Fig. 7. Nāga from Ābānerī. Size 10 x 8 ins.

Fig. 8. Nāga figures from Ābānerī.

Fig. 10. Standing male figure from Ābānerī.

Fig. 11. Chowri-bearer from Ābānerī.

Fig. 12. Gargoyle: Water-outlet from Ābānerī.

i.e. Kubera, is given added interest by the presence of a lady (holding a wine flask in her hands)[1] to the right of Kubera.

7. *DANCING ŚIVA AND THE DIVINE MOTHERS*

A rectangular panel (Āmer Museum, AB/619/62) measuring about 4′ 6″ in width and 1′ 3″ in height. It depicts the Lord Śiva in a dancing pose in the company of the Divine Mothers and Bhairava. Here Māheśvarī, the consort of Śiva, does not occupy a place close to her spouse. It is Vaishṇavī who appears on one side and Vārāhī on the other. The nether garments and the head-dresses of all these deities (male and female) are of marked interest.

Beginning from the left, the deities have been depicted in the following order :

(*i*) *Māhishī* : two-handed, holding a trident in the right hand; the left one is broken. She has the *trinetra* (third eye[2]) in the centre of her forehead.

(*ii*) *Vaishṇavī* : holding the conch in the left hand and a garland in the right.

(*iii*) *Śiva* : four-handed. He wears a lion-skin covering the lower portion of his body. The Nandi bull appears behind him.

(*iv*) *Vārāhī* : boar-faced. She holds a *khaṭvāṅga* in the right hand, a fish in the left.

(*v*) *Kaumārī* : holding a cock in the left hand and a peacock touching the right breast of the goddess.

(*vi*) *Aindrī* : holding an *aṅkuśa* (goad) in the right hand. An elephant has also been carved.

(*vii*) *Bhairava* : four-armed, standing on a human corpse. He is shown with his emaciated body and holding a *ḍamarū*, a cup, a *khaṭvāṅga* and a *khaḍga* in his respective hands.

8. *SEATED PĀRVATĪ—PL. LIV, FIG. 6*

A small niche has the four-armed goddess Pārvatī in an imposing pose (Āmer Museum, AB/171/64). She sits on an inverted lotus throne and has the vertical third eye in the centre of her forehead. There also appears a skull attached to the top-knot of her head. The presence of these features lends added interest to the sculpture. The weapons held by Pārvatī are a bell in the right upper hand, a garland in the right lower, a cup in the left upper and a skull-crowned mace in the left lower.

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[1] Below this lady is to be seen a cup in the right hand of Kubera ; the left one is broken.

[2] The depiction of Pārvatī, as having three eyes, can also be seen in another sculpture from the same place. In the latter specimen, the deity is shown as seated ; cf. Pārvatī's third eye in a Gupta terracotta from Ahichchattra, illustrated by V. S. Agrawala in *Ancient India, Bulletin of Archaeological Survey*, New Delhi, Vol. IV, Pl. XLV, p. 132.

9. *VISHṆU AND HIS CONSORT*

This niche-panel (Āmer Museum, AB/10/150) about 3′ 2″ in width, depicts Vishṇu and his consort Vaishṇavī in a standing pose. The latter stands to the left of Vishṇu. Her nether garment reaches the ankles of her feet. A girdle hangs over the knees of Vishṇu and reminds us of the Gupta art traditon.[1] The head-gear of Vaishṇavī is bedecked with a lotus flower. To her left stands a female devotee with her hands folded and looking towards the goddess. Similarly, a male devotee is shown standing to the right of Vishṇu.

The abovementioned panel appears to have been fixed originally above some principal niche outside the main shrine at Ābānerī.

10. *NĀGA FIGURES*

The sculptures from Ābānerī also include 3 specimens depicting *Nāga* figures :

(a) A fragmentary piece (Āmer Museum, AB/23/114) about 8″ in height, depicts a *nāga* with its hands folded.

(b) Another specimen (AB/12/151) presenting the above theme, measures about 8″ in width and 10″ in height. It represents the *nāga* with its hands folded and a three-hooded snake above its well-combed hair. The round ear-lobes, an *ekāvalī* round the neck, bracelets etc. beautify the figure. The lower portion of the sculpture (below the navel) is missing. See Pl. LV, Fig. 7.

(c) The third panel (AB/49/115) depicts two *nāga* figures, one above the other. Both of them have serpent tails and human bodies. Their hands indicate the mood of adoration. A serpent hood is seen on the head of the intact figure. Both wear an *ekāvalī* and *bhujabandhas*. See Pl. LV, Fig. 8.

11. *MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES*

Mention may also be made of some of the miscellaneous sculptures from Ābānerī :

(a) A couple in an amorous pose (Āmer Museum, AB/11/161).

(b) A door panel depicting a male and a female (Āmer Museum, AB/16/159).

(c) Dancing male figure (Āmer Museum, AB/25/112). Height about 13″. The *ekāvalī* has a central pendant. The nether garment of the figure is tied round the waist with the help of a girdle. Left arm and right leg broken. See Pl. LV, Fig. 9.

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[1] A similar girdle can also be seen on a post-Gupta lifesize statue of Vishṇu from Pālī now preserved in the Jodhpur Museum. This sculpture from Pālī has been illustrated by the writer in *The Journal of Indian Museums*, Bombay, Vol. IX, p. 104, Fig. 45 ; and in *Rājasthāna Bhāratī*, Bikaner, Vol. IV, No. 4, Fig. 2 on the Plate facing p. 22.

(d) Sculptures Nos. AB/174/39, 177/78 and 178/79 are important in view of their different types of hair decoration. In No. AB/174/39 we find the typical Gupta head-dress resembling a 'wig'. It is thus evident that the sculptors of Ābānerī were influenced by the traditions of Gupta plastic art.

(e) A standing male figure with the left hand broken and the right hand stretched downwards. The combed hair is artistically dressed in the shape of a top-knot. The figure wears an *ekāvalī*. See Pl. LVI, Fig. 10.

(f) A female attendant probably holding a *chowri* in her right hand. She has prominent breasts. The vase and foliage motif is seen to her left. See Pl. LVI, Fig. 11.

(g) Gargoyle: A stone block, once serving as water-outlet from the main shrine of the temple (AB/179/80 and AB/18/167). The latter depicts on both the sides two elegant female figures holding a jar turned upside down. Here we have eloquent testimony to the highly developed aesthetic sense of the sculptors of Ābānerī who even carved water outlets of the temple into attractive shapes. See Pl. LVI, Fig. 12.

It is clear from the above account that the Gupta tradition was continued at Ābānerī and that a very beautiful temple belonging to the 8th or the 9th century once stood there. The sculptures from this site are important additions to the known masterpieces of the post-Gupta period.

I am obliged to Dr. S. P. Srivastava for the photographs of these sculptures and my thanks are also due to Mr. Devi Narain Sharma, photographer of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

Editors' Note :

The sculpture of *Ardhanārīśvāra* (Pl. LII, Fig. 1) was reproduced in *Illustrated Weekly of India*, 17th January, 1954, by Leela Shiveshvakar where it was stated that it was not known from where the sculpture originally came. But it is quite clear, as observed by R. C. Agrawala, that it comes from the Ābānerī site.

A NOTE ON SOME TYPICAL JAIPUR FRESCOES

DR. SATYA PRAKASH

THE frescoes of the Jaipur school present a contrast to the famous Ajanta wall paintings not only in subject-matter but also as regards the technique employed. Typical Jaipur frescoes are wall paintings done on *araish* (smooth surface) and are referred to in popular Rajasthani dialect as paintings which follow the style *ā-l-ā gīlā*. The colours are laid on the wet plaster. The Jaipur fresco school is one of the sub-schools of Rajasthani mural painting. But a great many mural paintings in Rajasthan are not in the Jaipur fresco technique the essence of which is that the colours are laid on the wet plaster.

FRESCOES IN THE ĀMBER PALACES (PL. LVII, FIGS. 1, 2 AND 3)

These are to be found preserved on the walls of one of the rooms of the *bhojan śālā* (dining-hall). They are *siāh-kalam*, i.e., outlines without colour. These line drawings are in black on a smooth white ground. They depict various incarnations of Vishṇu, such as those the boar *avatāra*, the fish *avatāra* etc., and side by side, we have battle scenes with soldiers on horseback, or fallen on the ground. These paintings though blurred in parts, due to accumulation of dirt and to the presence of scratches and other damage, nevertheless provide material of great interest for the study of Rajasthani painting. They belong to a period of intense creative activity in Rajputana and are the product of a time when there was a healthy growth of traditional institutions and local culture. The special value of these line drawings lies in the fact that they represent the native genius of the Jaipur artist-craftsman.

This room of the dining-hall was constructed towards the end of the 17th century, and from the technique of the paintings it is quite clear that they were done on a wet ground soon after the room was complete. Thus the date of these paintings must correspond with the completion of the dining-hall. Though there is no dated record to substantiate this assumption the style of the paintings also bespeaks to the late 17th century. The artist has discovered, to quite an amazing degree, the secret of harmonizing warm black lines against the contrast of a smooth white background of wall space. Moreover, the Jaipur artist has devoted as much care to his *line* as the master painters of the Mughal school, but whereas the Mughal artist had an intellectual approach, as seen in the darbar scenes and protraits of the Mughal court, the *forte* of the Jaipur artists was the ability to draw a line in such a manner as to stress the emotional content of their paintings.

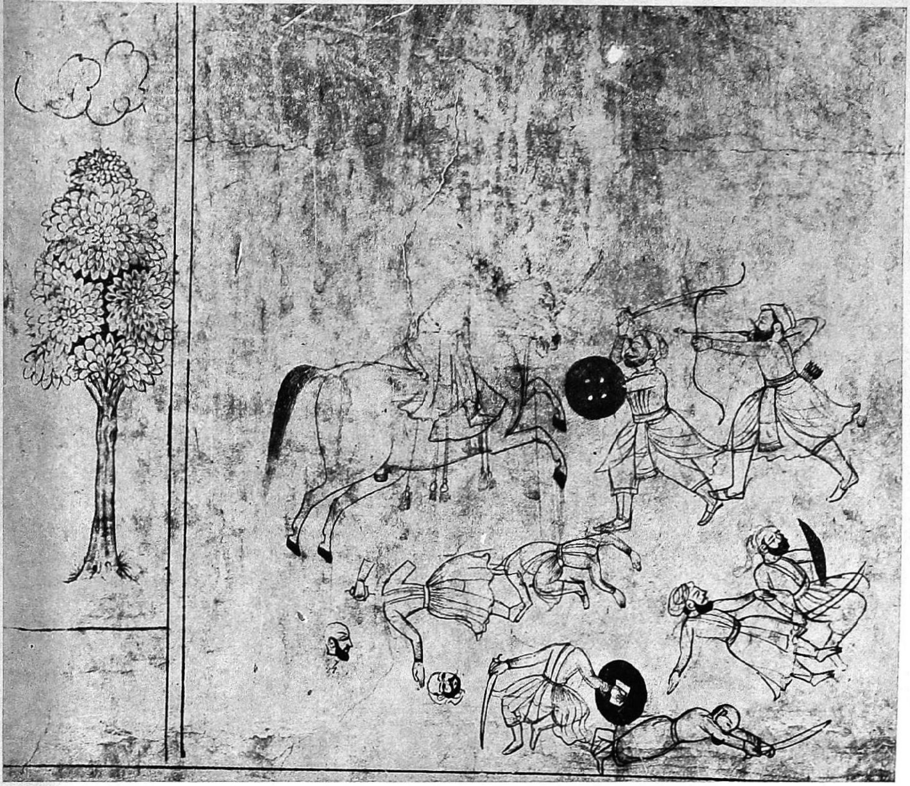

Fig. 1. A Battle Scene. *Siāh Kalam* (outline) fresco in Amber Palace.

Fig. 2. Gajendra-Moksha and Women. *Siāh Kalam* (outline) fresco in Amber Palace.

Fig. 3. Three Mythological Scenes at a hermitage. *Siāh Kalam* (outline) fresco in Amber Palace.

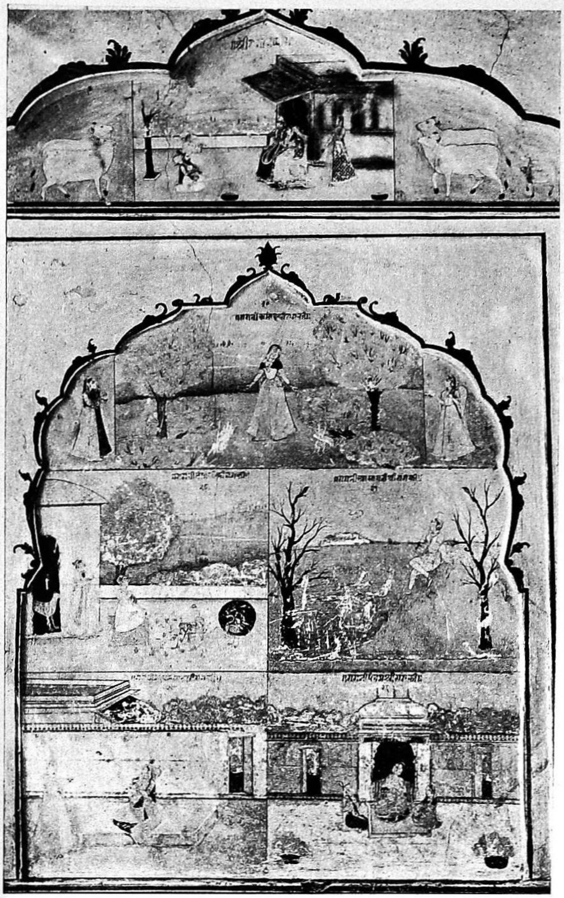

Fig. 4. Fresco at Galta, Jaipur State. Late 18th century A.D.

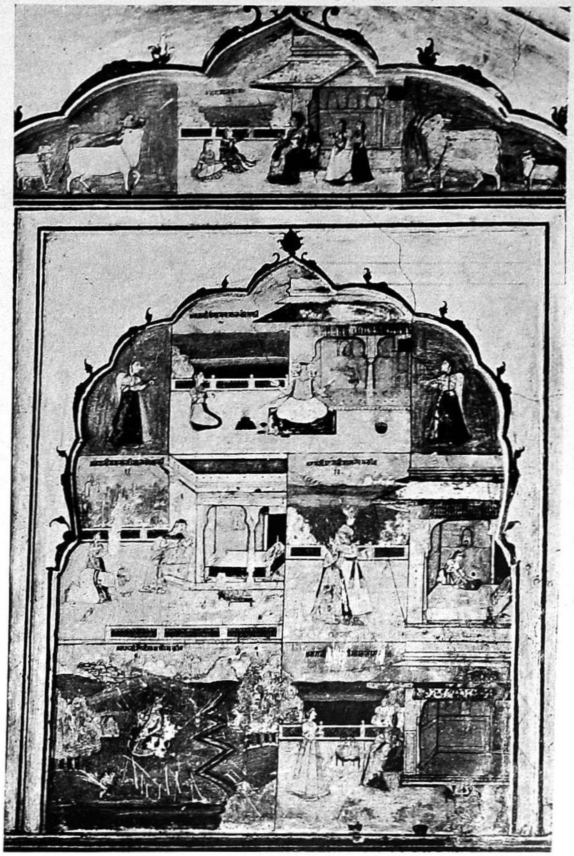

Fig. 5. Fresco at Galta, Jaipur State. Late 18th century A.D.

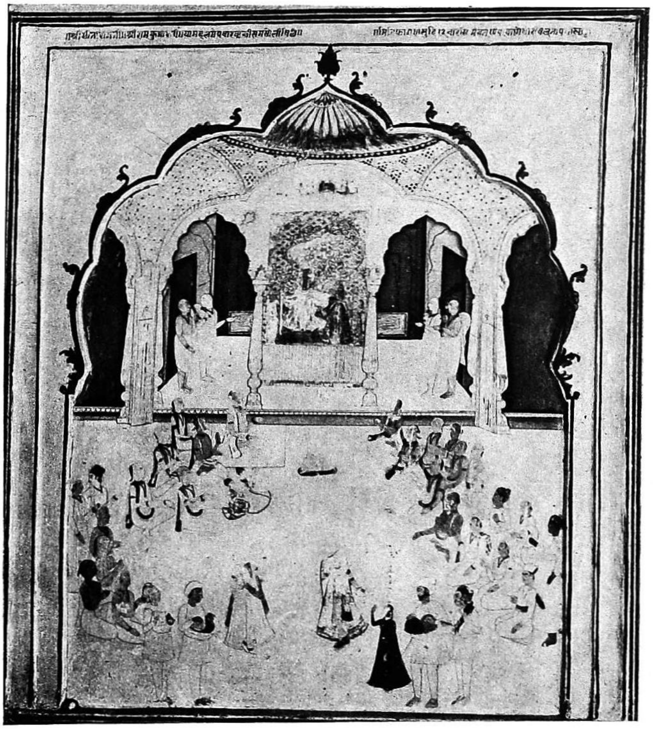

Fig. 6. Fresco at Galta. Jaipur State. Late 18th century A.D.

FRESCOES AT GALTA (PLS. LVIII AND LIX, FIGS. 4 TO 8)

Unlike the abovementioned frescoes at Āmber, those in one of the rooms of Āchāryajī's house at Galta, about six miles from Jaipur, via the Purānā Ghāt, bear a date. This date which appears in an inscription (Pl. LVIII, Fig. 6) to the south of the room reads, V.S. 1851=1794 A.D. The inscription[1] states that the God Rāmkumār was brought to this room (which contained paintings) for playing with colours on the occasion of *Holī* in the month of *Phālgun* on the 12th day V.S. 1851. Thus the latest date for these Galta frescoes of Āchāryajī's house, is 1794 A.D., but some of them may have been painted a few years before the God Rāmkumār was brought to play *Holī* in this painted room.

The room containing the paintings is in the upper storey just above the arched doorway. Galta is surrounded by dense forests on both sides and is more picturesquely situated. The road from Jaipur to Galta can be negotiated by a jeep.

The frescoes in the Āchāryajī's house are mostly devoted to the *Rāgamālā* theme. Though the best examples of *Rāgamālā* painting belong to the 17th century, the frescoes of Galta are characterised by a lyrical grace, which entitles them to be reckoned along with the notable creations of the 18th century. Jaipur frescoes have many of the qualities of folk songs and ballads the subject-matter of which was deeply rooted in the life of Rajasthan.

Besides the above mentioned *Rāgamālā* paintings there are also scenes such as a game of polo (Pl. LIX, Fig. 7c); Krishna playing on his flute in the company of *gopīs* and cows (Pl. LIX, Fig. 7d); Śeshaśāyi Vishṇu (Pl. LIX, Fig. 7b); Rāma and Sītā seated while Hanumān and others offer obeisance to them, (Pl. LIX, Fig. 7a).

Reference may also be made to some panels where certain saints are shown standing in an attitude of obeisance to the god whose image is seated on a raised platform in the middle (Pl. LVIII, Fig. 6). In the painting which bears the date (Pl. LVIII, Fig. 6) a number of devotees, some standing with chowries in their hands and some seated with folded hands on the ground, are seen. Dancing is in progress. The figure of the god, however, is unfortunately missing from the picture, although a certain devotee is standing near the throne of the god in an attitude of adoration.

THE PROCESS

Pure stone lime is mixed with water until it is dissolved and the water is strained through a fine cloth. The substance remaining in the cloth is called *bugra* and the substance strained through the cloth is known as *ghole*. These are prepared a week before they are required and every day

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1 श्री सीतारामजी। श्री रामकुमारजी या महत्त्व पधारबा की समस्ते लिसिधे मिति फागण सुदि १२ वारसि संवत १८५१ काले होरी खेलवा पधार्या।

water is changed so as to leave a very fine sediment. A very fine dry powder ***jinki*** is mixed with ***bugra*** and the result produced is called ***kurra***. When this ***kurra*** is mixed with ***ghole***, the mixture is called ***jinkera***. In order to prepare the ground for fresco work, ***bugra*** and ***jinki*** are mixed well together and a little water is added to enable them to be ground together until a perfectly fine paste is formed. The surface of the wall or ceiling to be painted is made wet and a layer, about an inch thick, of the ***kurra*** mixture is spread over it. The surface of the wall or ceiling is then beaten gently with a flat wooden beater and a few drops of water are sprinkled occasionally on the surface. A little ***ghole*** mixed with the ***kurra*** plaster is laid at this stage on the surface evenly with a brush and the surface is rubbed over carefully with a close-grained flat stone. This is done to smooth down all roughness. A few drops of water are sprinkled again and the above process is repeated three or four times with due care so that no holes or hollows remain. Every care is taken to ensure that the surface does not dry rapidly. The surface is also rubbed very carefully with a piece of polished agate in order to improve it. Now the surface is ready for work and the outlines of the painting to be executed are perforated on a paper and that paper, commonly called a 'pounce', is placed on the surface and dusted with powdered charcoal tied in fine cloth. The charcoal when dusted on to the paper passes through the perforations and marks the desired outlines on the plaster. Then the paints are mixed with water and laid on by a brush while the surface of the wall is still moist. Immediately after the surface has been painted, the colours are beaten in with the back of a small trowel in such a manner that one colour is not rubbed or mixed with the other colour adjacent to it. It is evident, if one touches these frescoes, that the colour has become one with the plaster. Lastly, the surface is brushed over with grated cocoanut and then polished with an agate stone.

COLOURS USED

The colours used in this process are generally ***kājal***, ***sindoor***, ***harā patthar***, ***pīlā patthar*** and ***hirmich***. A little glue is mixed with the first two colours, and only gum with others. As the colours have to stand up to the action of lime, earth colours are mostly used. The painting, when it dries, has a crystal like surface which protects the colours and imparts to the work a cleanness and brightness of tone which is not obtainable in any other process of tempera or size paint. In the Jaipur fresco technique the surface is not dry and dull as in tempera or when size colours are used, nor is it so glossy as in oil painting. The Jaipur frescoes can be viewed from any angle without reflections, and they are not injured by exposure to the air. The Galta frescoes have unfortunately lost all the full beauty of their original colours and they are also damaged in parts.

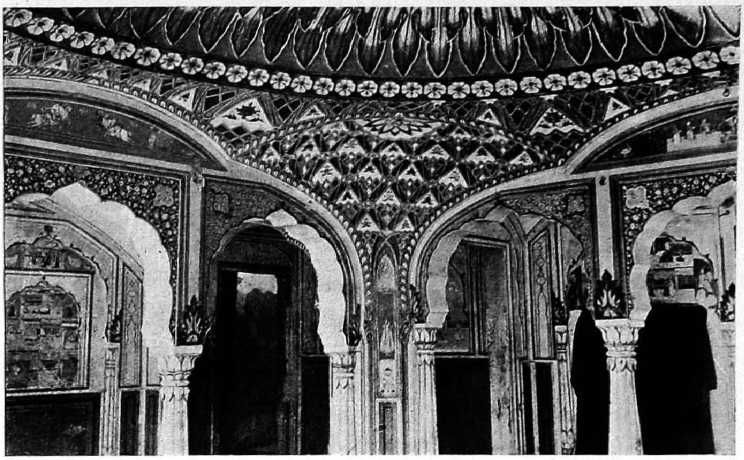
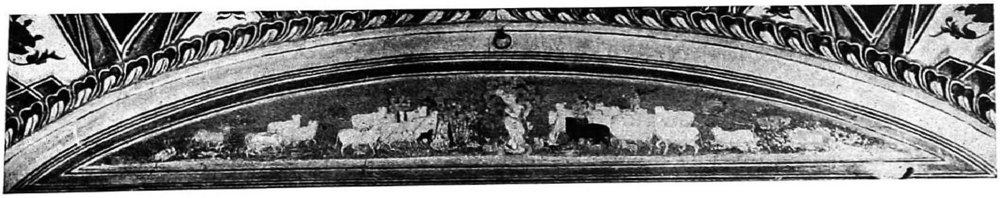


Fig. 8. Divānkhānā in Āchāryajī's house at Galta containing frescoes.
Late 18th century A.D.

7 (a)

7 (b)

7 (c)



7 (d)

Fig. 7 (a), (b), (c) and (d). Frescoes from Galta, Jaipur State. Late 18th century A.D.

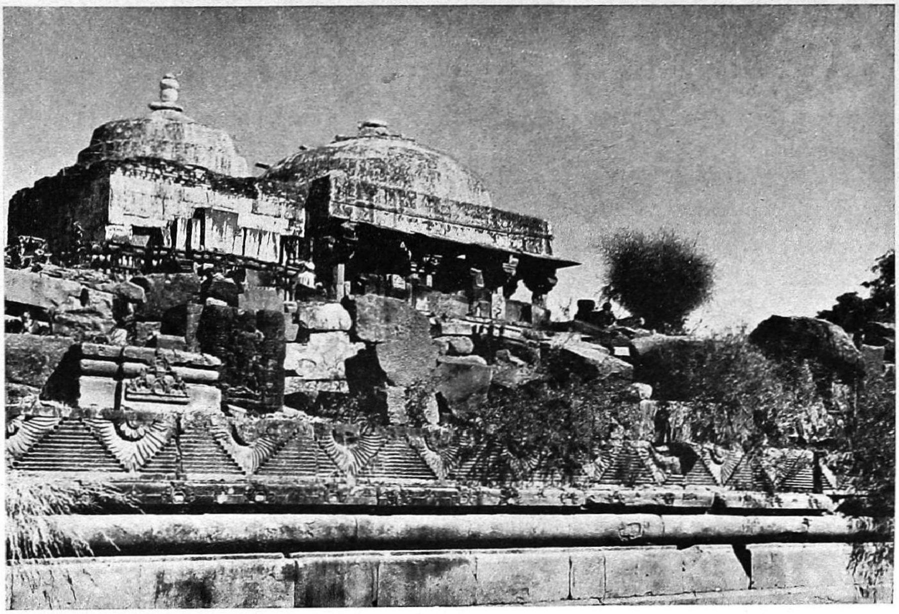


Fig. 1. Harshat Mātā Temple, Ābānerī.

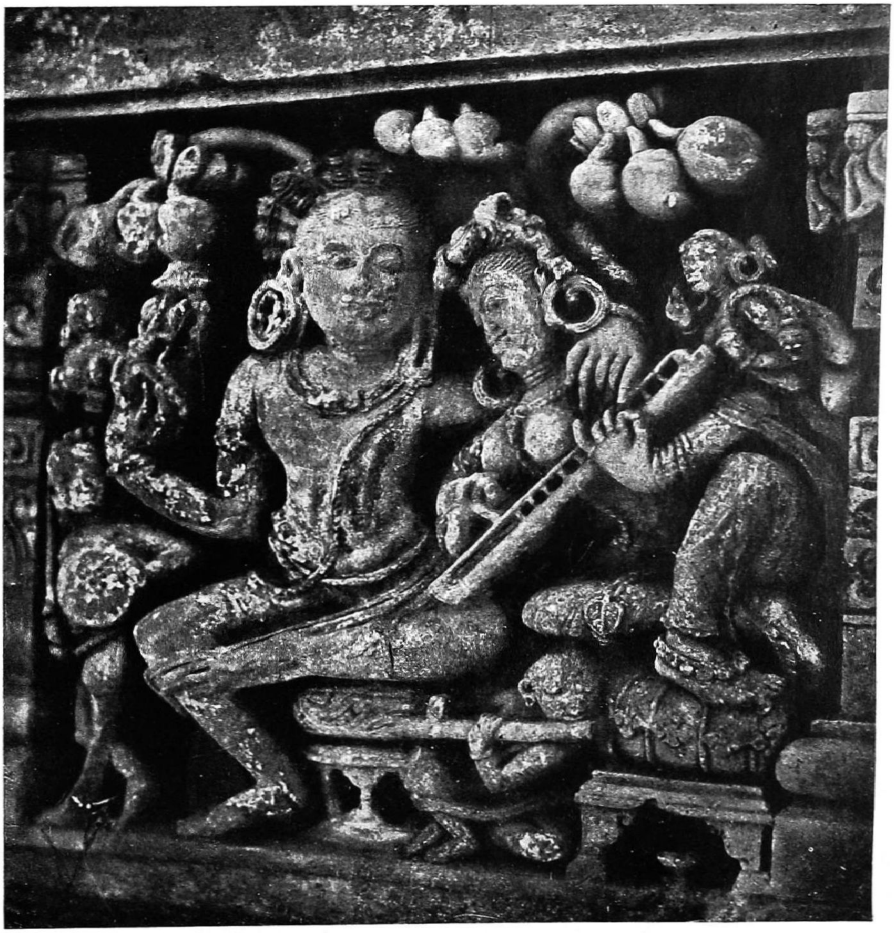


Fig. 2. Royal personage and his beloved. Ābānerī.

NOTES ON SOME SCULPTURES *IN SITU* AT ĀBĀNERĪ, RAJASTHAN

PUPUL JAYAKAR

ĀBĀNERI or Abha Nagari is a small village in the State of Jaipur, four miles from Bandikui, a station on the Agra-Jaipur line. Ābānerī is approachable by road both from Alwar and Bharatpur. From Alwar the road to Ābānerī lies through Rajgarh and Bandikui and from Bharatpur a country track branches about fifty-five miles from Bharatpur on the road that leads from Bharatpur to Jaipur. Ābānerī is about seventy-five miles from Mathura and about two-hundred miles from Deogarh in Lalitpur.

There are two monuments of archaeological interest at Ābānerī, the Chand Baori and the Temple of Harshat Mātā. The Temple of Harshat Mātā is mentioned in *Objects of Antiquarian Interests in Rajputana*, 1903, and portions of the old temple ruins have been ascribed to the 9th century. The present temple, which is in worship, is of recent construction. Great fragments of sculptured stones are piled all around the temple and an examination of the ruins reveals apparently two older temples.

There is an outer plinth wall, heavily moulded, about nine feet in height and approximately sixty feet in length. At the bottom of the steps are moonstones with lotus petals carved on the edges. An inner wall has been built of the hundreds of fragments of sculptured stones. Within this enclosure is what appears to have the walls of the old temple and the sculptures illustrated here are imbedded in this wall and are in their original positions. The sculptures are carved in deep relief, and the scenes they portray are secular in character.

The present temple has been built on the remains of the older temples and a number of sculptures and friezes have been built into the roof and the walls.

Among the fragments are two motifs of considerable interest, — a great flat full blown lotus and wide Chaitya window. The sensitive carving and the simplicity of ornamentation of these fragments would link these pieces to the sculptures illustrated here which belong to the earlier temple and can be placed to the middle of the seventh century, a little over a hundred years after the great Gupta temple at Deogarh. A detailed investigation of the site is necessary, however, to arrive at a definite date.

It is only in recent years that we are growing aware of the immense wealth of early mediaeval sculpture in Rajasthan. The sculptures of the temples of Osian, Baroli, Sikar, Atru, Nagda

and Chandravati are revealing the existence of a breath-taking new school of sculpture pulsating with the forces the Gurjjara-Pratihāra kings were to release with their worship of the symbols of elemental energy — the Sun, Durgā as Mahishamardinī, and the great primeval God Śiva in whom is contained both the 'source' and the 'annihilation'. The sculptures illustrated here, though coming from Rajasthan, do not appear to belong to the same stream of creative genius that gave rise to the sculptures of Northern and Western Rajasthan. In spirit, in the lyrical quality of theme and conception, in the vision and geometry of the human figure, in costumes and hair styles and in the interpretation of the erotic these sculptures at Ābānerī are the legacy of the Gupta tradition of Deogarh.

The early Gupta sculptures were moulded on a fusion of the paganism of Bharhut with the *Karuṇa* of the Buddha myth. They reflect the intense wonder of a genius awakening to the full knowledge of an aesthetics where the austere and the abundant meet and pin-point. In the post-Gupta sculptures of Ābānerī inspiration has born fruit and the sculptured stones pulsate with surging life that gives the female form a poise and tenseness of rising sap.

The secular sculptures of Ābānerī illustrate scenes of music, dance, nature, beauty and the meeting of lovers. The forms are ancient, the idiom lyrical, there is a flush of abandon, of richness and fullness handled with a restraint that is masterly.

The *rasa* is *sṛiṅgāra* but it is inspired with infinite delicacy and suggests rather than accentuates. Human lovers sit in pleasure gardens under the shade of trees, heavy with fruit and flowers, entertained by the music of the flute, lute and dance. This is a garden like the Uttarakuru of the Epics where there is no age but youth, no mood but *sṛiṅgāra* and where there is no place for tears or the pangs of separation.

PL. LX, FIG. 1

A side view of the Harshat Mātā temple showing the modern construction and the heavy moulding of the outer plinth wall.

PL. LX, FIG. 2

The king and his beloved sit in their pleasure garden under a mango tree, heavy with ripe fruit. The king sits in careless ease, his left arm encircles the neck of his beloved, while in his right hand he holds a *kelika kamala*, the symbol of dalliance.[1] His hair is dressed in tight curls and in his ears are great round ear-rings. She leans towards him, her body tense and expectant, a 'garland of offering'. Her fingers rest with exquisite precision on the lute that nestles in her arms. Her

[1] Coomaraswamy and Sen, *Vidyāpati*, London 1915 (Trans.), p. 178.

Fig. 3. Nāgā king. Incident unidentified. Ābānerī.

Fig. 4. Royal personage with beloved. Ābānerī.

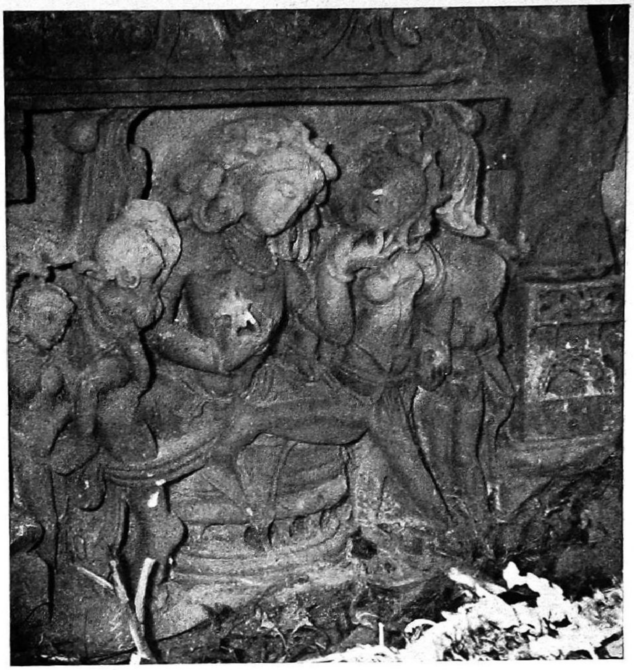


Fig. 5. Royal personage with beloved. Ābānerī.

Fig. 7. A couple.
Ābānerī.

hair is elaborately curled and adorned 'with chaplets of fresh woven blooms of *kadamba, bakula,* and *ketaki*'. On her heavy rounded breasts is a necklace and chain that ends in a five-petalled flower. Her face reveals the rapture of the moment, her mouth pouts as if attempting to catch the ecstasy of the departing musical note. A figure behind her listens and at the lovers' feet a figure plays the flute. The composition is tuned to the pitch of the musical note — as if sound had been captured and imprisoned in the stone. The mango tree is closely associated with Kāma, the mind-born God of Love. One of his five arrows is a branch of the flowering mango tree, a symbol of the intoxication of desire, and Nārāyaṇa, when he created Urvaśī, took the juice of the mango tree and painted her portrait on his thigh.[1] The full ripe mango fruit gives the key to the whole mood of the sculpture. Here is a woman who, like the tense fruit, is mellow and golden with juice. It is a portrait of love fulfilled.

In Indian erotics '*Svakīyā Nāyikās*' are classified according to their experience — *Mugdhā*, the inexperienced, *Madhyā*, more experienced and *Pragalbhā* — fully mistress of love's art. The heroine is a *Pragalbhā Nāyikā*, 'one who is fully ripe with youth, clinging as it were to the body of her husband for joy, even at the beginning of love's pleasure'.[2]

PL. LXI, FIG. 3

A Nāga king, with hair dressed in curls that fly in the wind and serpent-like hood, strides in tremendous anger over a prostate figure that crouches and attempts to kiss the feet of the king. The hero holds a flat, curved sword in his right hand and his left hand is lifted in a gesture of warning. Facing him is a Nāgini standing with head bowed and folded hands, seeking forgiveness(?) or attempting to appease the wrath of the king(?). On her head is a short pointed hood, shaped like the head of a cobra, and her girdle has a jewelled chain ending in a bell resting on her thighs. On the right of the king is a woman who holds the arm of the king restraining him from striking the fearsome death blow. Every muscle and gesture of the king's body expresses the *raudra rasa*. The king wears an *ekāvalī* necklace round his neck and at his waist is a short dagger. Of particular interest are the top boots worn by the serpent king (Nāga).

PL. LXI, FIG. 4

The king and his beloved sit on rounded stools under the branches of a tree with great leaves. Their faces are in the ancient Gupta tradition, rounded like full moons. The king's hair is gathered into a knot of curls and round his neck is an *ekāvalī* necklace. In one hand he holds

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1 S. Kramrisch, *Vishnudharmothara* (Trans.), p. 35.

2 Kanoomal, 'Some Notes on Hindu Erotics', *Rupam*, No. 4.

a flower, the other rests on his knee. Behind him sits the queen with fingers raised to the lips in a gesture of enquiry. A figure of a man holding a stick stands beside the king, and a woman attendant behind the queen. On the faces of the king and queen are smiles of pleasure and curiosity.

PL. LXII, FIG. 5

The king sits on a round stool under the branches of a tree with heavy leaves and flower buds that are as yet unopened. He sits with one leg bound by a *yogapaṭṭa*. His head is covered with a great sweep of curls that fall massively to his shoulders. His face is bent forward with an infinity of tenderness towards his shy beloved who stands beside him. His left hand holds a flower that is a reflection of his loved one's face, and with his right hand, in a gesture of overpowering gentleness, he caresses her face and turns it towards him.

There is a sculpture in the Kailāsnāth temple at Ellora that expresses in an identical gesture, the same emotion. Śiva in his Bhairva Svarūpa is shown shaking the earth and filling all beings with terror. Near his feet sits Pārvatī, a gentle sapling in the raging storm, and Śiva in a gesture that is a symbol of the core of quietness in a whirlpool of movement stretches forth his hand and with his fingers touches the face of Pārvatī.

The key to the mood of this masterpiece of Ābānerī is the unopened buds that hang on the branches. The beloved is like the bud awaiting the moment of her awakening. She is the *Svakīyā Nāyikā* as *Mugdhā*, in whose limbs love has just begun to throb and who knows not the taste of love nor the colour of desire.

Oh Madhava! How shall I recite her growing up?
E'en Madhava's heart, beholding her must be ensnared.
Love is forsooth the ruler of her heart
Sitting the jars upon her breasts, he straightens out her form.
She bends her mind to learn the lore of love
Just as the deer to her the song.[1]

PL. LXIII, FIG. 8

This is another musical scene. The hero and his loved one sit on a high stool. It is moonlight and in one hand he holds a fully opened lily,[2] the other is held to the face of his beloved. She half rests on his lap, her one arm encircles his neck. But her body is restrained, she neither yields nor does she shrink away. At kissing time, she turns her face away — the moon has

[1] Coomaraswamy and Sen, *Vidyāpatī*, London 1915, p. 23.
[2] According to the *Vishnudharmothara* moonlight should be shown by a *kumuda* flower in full bloom.

Fig. 8. A Royal personage and his beloved surrounded by musicians and dancers. Ābānerī.

Fig. 9. Royal personage listening to a musician. Ābānerī.

Fig. 1. *Trees*, by Avinash Chandra. Awarded a prize at the First National Exhibition of Art. See p. 145.

Fig. 2. *Mother and Child*, by K. C. S. Paniker. Exhibited at the First National Exhibition of Art. See p. 145.

taken the lotus in his lap.[1] She is the *Svakīyā Nāyikā* in the *madhyā* aspect and is referred to as having the love of rising youth and permitting its indulgence. The *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* describes the *Madhyā Nāyikā* as having eyes that excel the beauty of the *khanjana* bird, hands that rival lotuses, loveliness that reflects the beauty of the golden champak, speech that excells nectar and the lustre of whose glances throws into shade the beauty of a wreath of lotuses.[2] Surrounding the lovers are figures playing various musical instruments and dancing. A woman with a stringed instrument stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose, another holds the *chamara*—at the feet of the lovers a figure sits playing the flute while an attendant waves a fan in the background. It is a scene of love and music and reminds one of the verses of Kālidāsa :

> *The delightful terraces of the mansions fragrant with flowers,*
> *And wine, vivid with the breath and the lips of the beloved,*
> *And song, accompanied by well-strung lute and lyre*
> *Kindling the light of love*
> *Are enjoyed by amorous men*
> *During the midnights of summer.*[3]

PL. LXII, FIG. 7

Two figures stand framed between two pillars of the late Gupta period. The man wears drawers tied at the waist with a loop ; in his hand he holds a flower. His hair falls in ringlets to his shoulders. The woman stands one leg crossed behind the other. Her fine drapery clings to her body and is draped in folds across her thigh. One end of the *dhotī* is caught up at the waist.

PL. LXIII, FIG. 9

The king sits in *rāja lalitāsana*. His hair is piled high in curls and is bound in a chaplet of gold. Around his neck is a double necklace. He wears around his loins a cloth woven with a beautiful design. It is spring and the bodiless love god has entered the limbs of a woman, who is caught in a wild abandon of music and dance. Behind her is a clinging creeper that sways in the gentle breeze. Her one foot rests lightly on a stool, the other is caught in the movement of the dance. Her fingers rest with exquisite intention on the strings of the lute which is reminiscent of the lute in the dance and music scene of the Gupta period found at Pawaya. The woman plays on her instrument with the same lyrical abandon as her lover plays on her body. A fine muslin cloth ornamented with a floral motif drapes her hips and falls in curves to her ankle.

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1 Coomaraswamy and Sen, *Vidyāpati*, London 1915, p. 52.
2 Ballantyne and Mitter, *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*.
3 R. Pandit, *Ṛitusaṁhāra* (Trans.).

A small figure, intoxicated by the sound of the music, and the breezes and fragrances of spring expresses his joy in a wild ecstatic dance — while to the right of the royal lovers, a woman, unaware of her loosened girdle, dances, holding a fan in her lifted hand.

The composition of this sculpture is superb. The curve of the woman's body breathes the abandon of the mood, only possible in that season in which everything quickens and comes to life:

> *In spring the bodiless love permeates the limbs of maidens, in manifold ways;*
> *Into the visionless eyes that are dulled by wine*
> *He puts a sparkle and a softness;*
> *He is the pallor of the cheeks and the hardness of the breasts;*
> *He moulds the slimness of the waist, the fall and the swing of the hips,*
> *It is love's beauty itself that shines through her loveliness.*[1]

NOTE:

I wish to express my thanks to Shri L. K. Jha for the photos which accompany this article.

Editors' Note:

Some Ābānerī sculptures, removed from the site, are also dealt with in this issue by R. C. Agrawala. Mrs. Jayakar ascribes the sculptures reproduced by her to the 7th century, while R. C. Agrawala suggests the 8th-9th century for the examples which accompany his article. We feel that though the sculptures of Ābānerī are not all of one period nevertheless none of them are likely to be earlier than the 8th century. Their style and elaboration appears to preclude an earlier date even if certain resemblances with Deogarh are discernible. They may be regarded as examples of a local style of pre- or very early Gurjjara-Pratihāra art at its best when several Gupta traditions were being carried on into the post-Gupta period.

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[1] R. S. Pandit, *Ṛitusaṁhāra* (Trans.), p. 61.

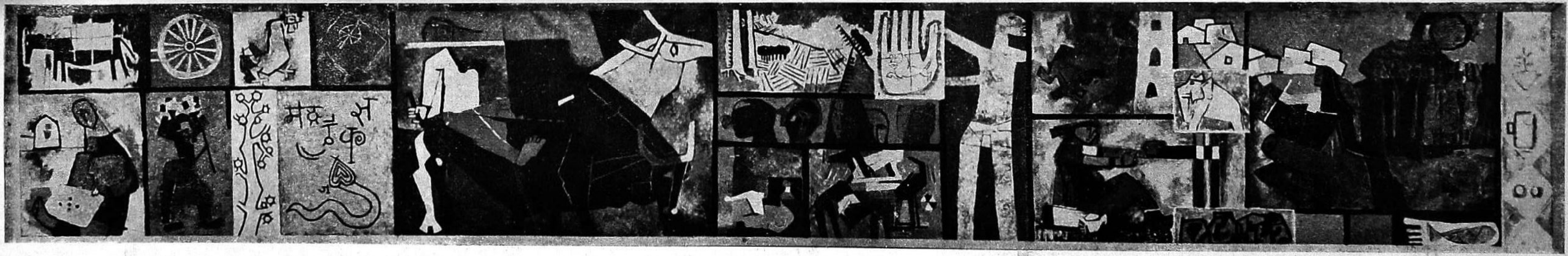

Fig. 1. *Zameen*, by M. F. Husain of Bombay. Awarded first prize at the First National Exhibition of Art. See p. 145.

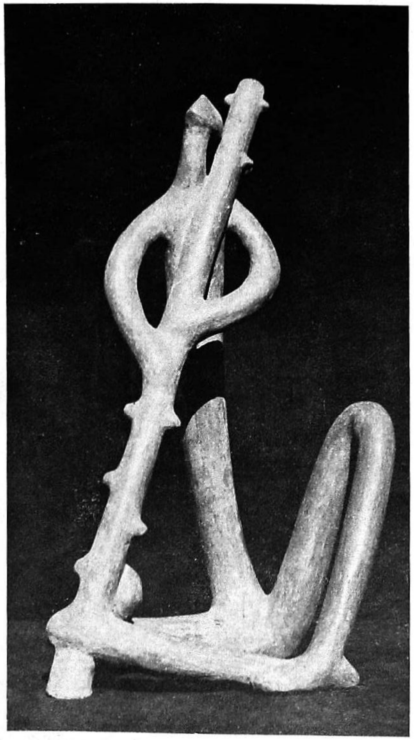

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Fig. 2. *Musician* (sculpture in concrete), by Dhanraj Bhagat of Delhi. Exhibited at the First National Exhibition of Art. See p. 145.

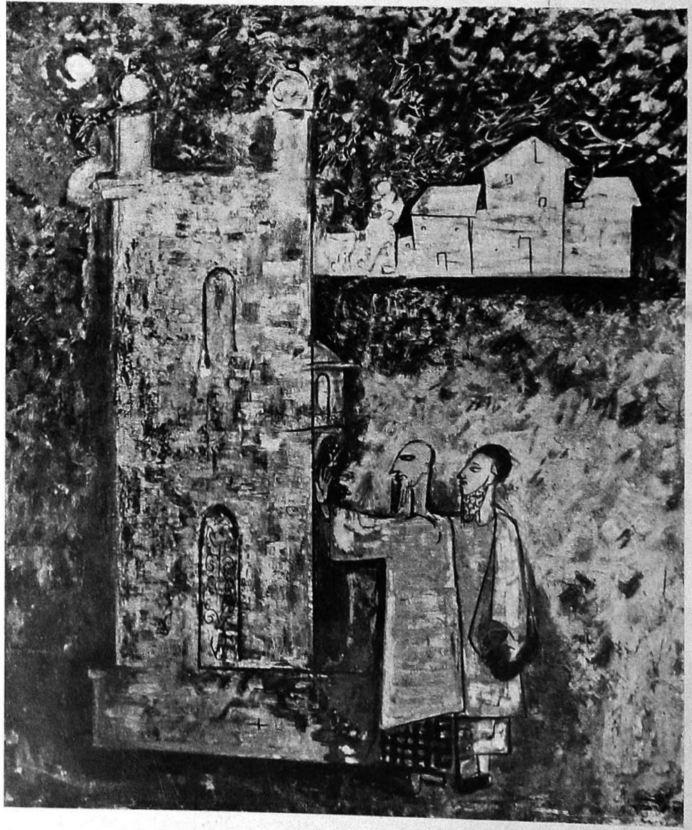

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Fig. 3. *Fakirs*, by H.A. Gade. Exhibited at the First National Exhibition of Art. See p. 145.

Fig. 1. *Green Room*, by K. Sreenivasulu of Andhra. Exhibited at the First National Exhibition of Art.

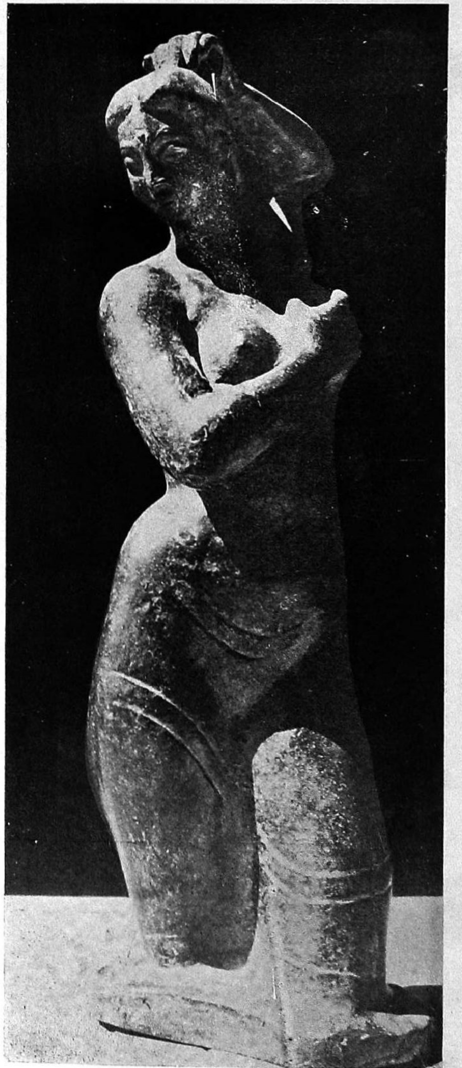

Fig. 2. *Toilet*, by Girish Bhat. Awarded a prize at the First National Exhibition of Art.

FIRST NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART

THE Lalit Kalā Akadami's First National Exhibition of Art, inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, on March 21, 1955, is still being discussed with much said for and against it. No recent Exhibition of Art has occasioned so much of controversy, dissension and disappointment. Yet, when the facts about the Exhibition are considered, one is compelled to realise that the Exhibition itself was not after all so vulnerable to such comments.

The Exhibition was organised within seven months of the inauguration of the Akadami, and the project, though an important one, was among many others undertaken by the Akadami. There was not much time to organize comprehensive publicity. But even in spite of insufficient publicity the Exhibition attracted in all 1025 entries from 335 artists. These came from professionals, wholetime stalwarts, painters and sculptors, serious-minded students and from those who desired the honour of being represented in the very first National Exhibition held in the country.

To a great extent, many of the exhibitors appeared not to have understood the significance or the scope and aims of the National Exhibition. Quite a number of amateurs and students found it difficult, for some reason or the other, to comply with the rules and conditions governing the submission of entries as embodied in the prospectus. This failure to comply with rules put the organisers to great inconvenience.

It was therefore a very formidable task that confronted the composite Selection and Judging Committee. But it must be said that in spite of the odds facing it, the Committee performed a very creditable job. It did not pontify; nor was it unduly considerate. In its own words the Committee felt: 'the foremost Exhibition in the country deserves better response from artists and it requests that the artists of India should, in future years, make special efforts to enable this Exhibition to become more truly representative of the genius of India'.

The Committee in making its awards did not judge the exhibits on the popular basis of schools and styles. It considered each exhibit against its own particular background and on its own merits. The emphasis naturally fell on the modern style of work, as this class of exhibits outnumbered the others which consisted of paintings in the academic and conventional styles, in the semi-classical and traditional manner and paintings based on folk art forms. On the whole it so happened that the accepted number in each style was roughly in proportion to the

PLATE K. 'Horses at Play' by R. D. Raval, Bombay. Awarded a prize at the First National Exhibition.

Fig. 1. *Composition*, by Dinkar Kowshik. Exhibited at the First National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 2. *Thorn*, by N. S. Bendre. Awarded a prize at the First National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 1. *Ragini*, by Prafulla Joshi. Miss Joshi is a gold medalist of the Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay, and held a one man exhibition at the Jehangir Art Gallery, Bombay. She has created a type (Fig. 2) which she has used in many of her paintings illustrating the *Rāgamālā* theme. Her fresh outlook and naive handling of her subject-matter have contributed much to her success.

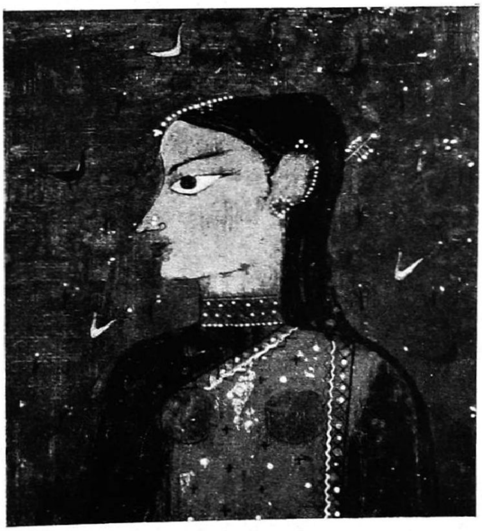

Fig. 2. *Girl's Head*, by Prafulla Joshi.

strength of the entries in that group. In all, the Selection Committee accepted 254 exhibits from 132 artists (including 30 sculptures) for showing in the Exhibition.

Notwithstanding the loose talk that went around for some time immediately after the inauguration of the Exhibition it is apparent to all sober-minded persons that the Akadami itself is not committed to encouraging or upholding any particular school or style of art. It is the avowed intention and policy of the Akadami to present in its National Exhibitions works belonging to every style and school of thought provided they merit selection. It is the express purpose of the National Exhibition to present worthy works of art irrespective of their affiliation to any particular group or movement and thus make the Exhibition truly national in character and representative of all the best in contemporary Indian art.

The Selection and Judging Committee recommended the awards as under :

That the Akadami's gold plaque and cash award of Rs. 2,000 be not awarded,

That a prize of Rs. 1,000 be awarded to Mr. M. F. Husain for 'Zameen' (Pl. LV, Fig. 1)

That the second prize of Rs. 1,000 be divided in prizes of Rs. 500 each to Shri N. S. Bendre for the 'Thorn' (Pl. LVII, Fig. 2) and Shri Ishwarlal B. Gajjar for 'Fisher Woman',

That the two prizes of Rs. 500 be divided into four prizes of Rs. 250 each, and with the remaining four prizes of Rs. 250, be awarded as follows (names in strict alphabetical order):

1. Shri Girish Bhatt for 'Toilet'.
2. Shri Avinash Chandra for 'Trees' (Pl. LXIV, Fig. 1).
3. Shrimati Nirmala Kapil Desai for 'Royal Pastime'.
4. Shri G. M. Hazarnis for 'Sea Harvest'.
5. Shri D. J. Joshi for 'A Sketch'.
6. Shri K. S. Kulkarni for 'Girls with Pitchers'.
7. Shri Kshitindra Nath Mazumdar for 'Kaikai and Dasharatha'.
8. Shri R. D. Raval for 'Horses at Play' (Pl. K).

The Committee was composed of five members, all being very distinguished art critics. Indeed it would have been difficult for the Akadami to find a more balanced and knowledgeable panel of judges. But there will always be a discontented section. It is obvious, however, that the Akadami must pursue its ideals undeflected by partisan criticism if contemporary Indian art is to proceed along the path of progress and not stagnate in backwaters.

S. A. K.

REVIEWS

MUGHAL MINIATURES: Rai Krishnadasa, with an Introduction by Humayun Kabir. General Editor: Karl Khandalavala, Lalit Kalā Akadami, New Delhi 1955. Rs. 8/12.

Mughal Miniatures, published by the Lalit Kalā Akadami, is likely to prove a landmark in the annals of Indian publications for more than one reason. Not only the cover, but the printing, the excellent quality of paper and the get up have reached a standard seldom met with in works of art published from this sub-continent. The high standard of colour reproductions too, demonstrates that Indian publications under proper care and guidance, in this case that of Sri K. J. Khandalavala, can equal the best produced anywhere.

The brochure is the first of a series of albums planned to popularize and disseminate the qualities and fundamentals of Indian art, throughout the ages, in India as well as abroad. State patronage of art was traditional in ancient and mediaeval India but had fallen into disuse since 1857 as correctly pointed out by Prof. Kabir in his 'Introduction'.

Rai Krishnadasa of Banaras who wrote the text and notes is a well known art critic. In his brief but precise survey of Mughal painting he has given a correct lead to future publications in this series.

The term 'Mughal' is derived from 'Mongol' under a misapprehension, because the Timurids were Barlas Turkis, locally known as Chaghtais. They were remotely connected with Chengiz Khan on the mother's side. Though they brought the blood and traditions of Timurids, Bābar and his immediate successors drew inspiration from the contemporary Safawid culture of Iran. Nevertheless, the historical background of these Chaghtais, who were direct descendants of Timurid *faineants*, at whose courts Iranian painting had reached such dizzy heights, promised well for India, their new homeland. The most famous patron of the Herat school was Hussain Baiqara, a cousin of Bābar.

In its origins the so called school of Mughal painting was, as it were, a province of Iranian painting. But it was not slow to become Indianised. This happy combination of Indo-Iranian aesthetics created Mughal painting. Yet it had its limitations. It was an official art — the art of a military aristocracy — concerning itself with representations which had relevancy to their lives, society, personalities, arts, receptions, haunts and amours. Within these limitations we are face to face with a new directness of inspiration. It was an art based upon observation and spontaneous naturalism, but by no means photographic in quality.

The *raison d'etre* of this art was portraiture. It was, in fact, a national gallery of historical personages. Emperors, Imperial princes, holy men such as *darvishes, fakirs* and *sanyāsis*, nobles, generals, Rajas and Maharajas — all lost in the empty corridors of time, appear before us in a seemingly endless procession.

Another significant feature of Mughal painting is its landscape. It was no doubt treated, as in Iran, in a decorative way, but the coldness of conventional Iranian painting was replaced by the love of nature and tender humanism. 'If Persian landscape was a garden — Mughal landscape was nature itself'.

It is difficult to represent all these phases and characteristics in an album limited to ten plates on grounds of cost, but Rai Krishnadasa has succeeded admirably in performing an admittedly difficult task.

The real founder of the Mughal school was Akbar who established the Imperial Academy at Agra and it was he and not Humāyūn who commissioned Mir Sayid Ali to paint the great series called the *Hamza Nāmah*. Badāōnī's specific dates should put the matter beyond controversy. To reject Badāōnī's statement without any evidence to the contrary would not be a scholarly approach. The author and the editor have acted wisely in accepting Badāōnī's statement.

The example selected from this series is a *tour de force*, showing all the factors inherent in the transition stage. The predominant Iranian influence is evident, intermingling with typical Indian motifs such as the elephant. The painting is rich and full of enchanting details. Notwithstanding its admitted crowding and tumultuous rhythm, there is a deliberate discipline in the spatial organisations. The turbulence caused by the mass of panicky and stricken people in green, brown etc., is contrasted with the red-brown mass of the building surmounted by gold. A framework of architecture emphasises the verticality of the design. This is repeated playfully in the ramparts and pillars supporting the cupolas ; while the interlaced linear composition and varied curves set up a contradictory series of rhythms. The subject and method have been harmoniously integrated, which is the objective of painting.

The gem of the National Museum collection is its *Bābar Nāmah* and the entry of Bābar into an encampment (Plate 2) has been very happily chosen as a masterpiece of Akbar's reign. The same is true of Plate 3, showing Bābar's fall from a horse, from the same Ms.

Akbar conceived and Jahāngīr executed. That is why the classic age of Mughal painting is the reign of Jahāngīr, while that of Mughal architecture is the period of Shāh Jahān. In Jahāngīr's time the fusion of Indian traditions with the Safawid had become complete. Jahāngīr was catholic in his tastes. He apparently welcomed influences from European art and with the eye of a naturalist caused rare animals and rare plants and flowers to be copied for his Albums.

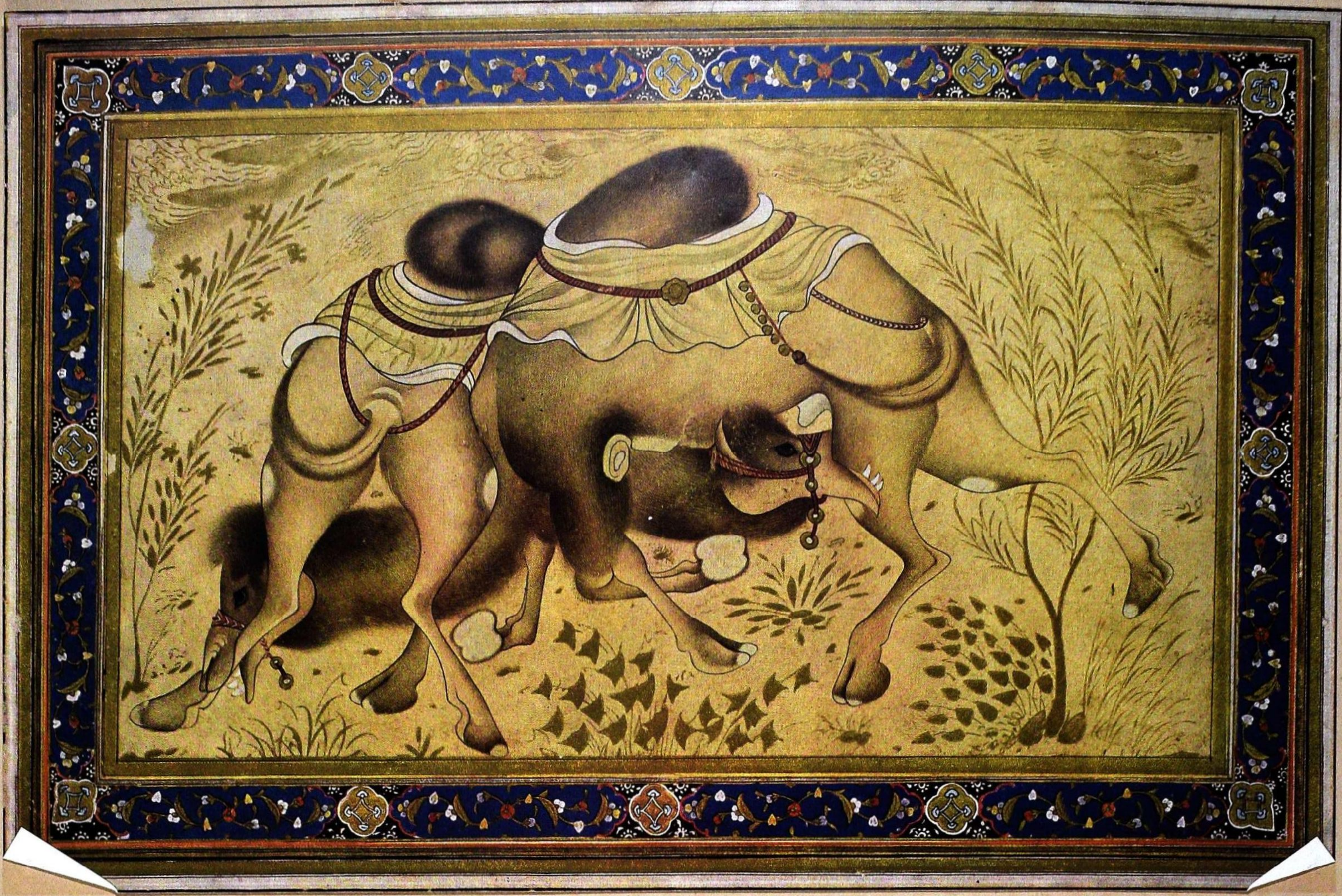

PLATE L. 'Camel Fight'. Jahāngīr period. 1610-1620 A.D.
Plate 5 from *Mughal Miniatures* published in 'The Lalit Kalā Series of Indian Art'. See review at p. 148.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The emperor supplied the theme and the vision, while his court painters contributed to the materialisation of his dreams and ideals — the two factors met in perfect concord to produce a great art. While the portraits of the Jahāngīr period have a psychological intensity, worthy of a Titian, the painters of this period proved themselves to be masters of realistic animal and bird drawings. The 'Falcon' by Ustād Mansūr (Plate 4) and the 'Camel Fight' (Plate 5) are two paintings which fully bring out the excellence of the artists of the Jahāngīr period.

The painting by Fateh Chand (Plate 6) comes next and takes us to the succeeding reign. This reign was a retrograde period. Realism was sacrificed to a decorative style. A return to conventionalised design with brilliant colours is a noteworthy feature. The silhouettes lost something of their vivacity and colour but gained supreme elegance. Three-quarter and one-quarter profiles were abandoned in favour of full profiles. The painting in question belongs to the earlier part of the reign when influences of the Jahāngīr period still survived. In the sumptuous garments, dazzling jewellery, splendid sashes and striped and flowered brocades, in the range of shades and complexions from the swarthy Uzbeks down to the prim and a little-too-elegant Indian nobles, the composition is instinct with character.

The presence of Alī Vardī Khān along with Murād and the characteristic bleak mountain scenery in the background appear to support Rai Krishnadasa's identification of the incident as based on Elphinstone's History. The mere fact that certain other historians do not specifically mention that Nazar Muhammad himself offered submission to Murād does not lead to the conclusion that Elphinstone is incorrect and that only Nazar Muhammad's sons offered submission.

'A Mughal Beauty' (Plate 7), standing against a monochrome background with multi-coloured clouds hovering above, is an exquisite study, chosen with judgment and taste.

Gorgeous, crowded, colourful and picturesque is the 'Darbar of Shāh Jahān' (Plate 8). With naked brown hills in the background is contrasted the inlaid marble pavilion typical of the Shāh Jahān period. The porcelain-like colour of the roof is contrasted with the red cusped arches with golden arabesques and supported by the pillars typical of the same period. Technically the painting shows a greater movement from the earlier paintings. This is confirmed by the fact that Shāh Jahān is shown with a white beard. The flowered brocades and chiffons supply the objective evidence of the date.

Plates 6, 7 and 8 are all top class examples of the Shāh Jahān period from the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

'At the Well' (Plate 9) belongs to the reign of Farrukh Siyar, the unfortunate Emperor. It is a colourful complicated scene and shows the progress of nationalisation made since Jahāngīr's reign. Accordingly it would not be an error of judgment to describe it as a Rajasthani painting

or as an example of the mixed Mughal-Rajasthani school. The multi-coloured clouds overhang a scene of considerable variety which displays the ingenuity of the artist in successfully portraying within a small space the plurality of life in the countryside in the 18th century. This was probably the life witnessed by the Sayyed brothers, which Nadir Shāh devastated. The author rightly suggests the period of Farrukh Siyar. The later Mughals have not been adequately studied by earlier writers who do not appear to have analysed the special characteristics of 18th century Mughal painting. In Plate 9, the elongation of figures, the length of the *jāmah*, the turbans, the female costumes etc., considered in conjunction with the treatment, technical excellence and large format of the painting go to indicate the early 18th century. It is not later.

Connoisseurship is evident in the agreement of author and editor that 'Portrait of Jahāngīr' (Plate 10) belongs to the period of Shah Alam. Many copies of this period are to be found in European and Indian collections. Sometimes these copies can be deceptive if the characteristics of later Mughal painting are not borne in mind. There is a painting in the Baroda Art Gallery showing 'two lovers'. The drawing and the background were evidently from some 17th century miniature — the rest, including the long *jāmah*, belongs to late 18th century.

A. B.

KĀNGRĀ VALLEY PAINTING: M. S. Randhawa, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi 1955. Rs. 18.

The author is a member of the Indian Civil Service and has followed in the footsteps of other notable civilians who have done much to reveal forgotten achievements of ancient Indian culture. Randhawa has interested himself in the schools of painting which flourished in the Punjab Hills from the 17th to the 19th century and as a result of his efforts several collections of Hill paintings have now been acquired for the Punjab Government Museum.

The present album consists of forty attractive colour reproductions of Kāngrā Valley miniatures. They are mostly selected from the collections acquired by Randhawa for the Punjab Government Museum. The colour plates are good though greater accuracy could have been attained. Yet all said and done they do impart a very fair idea of the originals and form a record indispensable to art lovers and art historians. The quality and get up of the volume are on the whole satisfactory and the best compliment one can pay to those who sponsored

this work is that at Rs. 18 it is perhaps the finest value in publications on Indian art during 1954-1955.

Randhawa has limited his text to sixteen pages and avoided technical discussion on dating and provenance. Maybe the reason was that the book is meant to popularize Kāngrā painting while such matters which would mainly interest scholars and connoisseurs. Stress has been laid on the background which inspired these lovely miniatures, namely the Krishna legend, the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā Bhed*, *Sriṅgāra* literature, the folk tales of the Punjab, etc.

The selection of paintings is in the main good, and almost all the examples chosen have never been reproduced before in colour. We would like to draw attention to the following matters in the text which defintely require reconsideration :

(*a*) Randhawa says 'Kāngrā painting is descended from the folk art of Northern India, which is commonly known as Rajput painting'. But surely Kāngrā painting is in the main an aristocratic art and one largely derived in its technical aspects from the Mughal schools of the 18th century. It is true, however, that the spirit of the Vaishṇava renaissance and the atmosphere of the hill country gave it that beauty and sincerity which 18th century Mughal art does not possess.

(*b*) The statement that Guler, Nūrpur and Tīrā-Sujānpur are the three main centres of Kāngrā painting, needs qualification. We know very little of the style or output of the Nūrpur school. Many of the paintings in Miān Kartār Singh's collection, attributed by Archer and Randhawa to Nūrpur (*Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3), appear to be from other States. It has also been overlooked that Chamba, Garhwal and Mandi were all prolific centres of the Kāngrā style.

(*c*) The statement that Guler has the longest tradition in the art of painting is contrary to all available evidence which indicates that the beginnings of Pahārī art were in Basohlī in the last quarter of the 17th century. The fact that portraits of early Guler Rajas such as Jagdish Chand (1570-1605), Rup Chand (1610-1635) and Mān Singh (1635-1661) exist, means nothing, as all such portraits are 18th century copies or adaptations of earlier Mughal style portraits. The Pahārī Rajas not infrequently attended the Mughal court or the court of the Mughal governors. The portraits of early Rajas have misled the author who has not realized that they are all 18th century copies.

(*d*) Hastu was not an artist of Sansār Chand (1774-1823). He worked round about 1860. The author has been misinformed.

(*e*) The dates of the Guler rulers Dalīp Singh, Govardhan Chand, Prakāsh Chand, Bhūp Singh and Shamsher Singh are not correctly given in the Chart. Though they are based on Hutchison

PLATE M. Illustration to a *Bārāmāsā* series. Kāngrā Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D.
Plate 5 from *Kāngrā Valley Painting*. See Review at p. 152.
Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
Collection of the Lambāgrāon Darbar.

and Vogel's *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 1933, nevertheless we now know that those dates require revision. They should be as follows :

Dalīp Singh, 1695-1745 :

Govardhan Chand, 1745-1773 :

Prakāsh Chand, 1773-1790 (probably abdicated, died about 1820) :

Bhūp Singh, 1790-1826 :

Shamsher Singh, 1826-1878 :

(*f*) In the Chart, the beginnings of the Basohlī school are shown in the Shāh Jahān period. In fact, the beginnings of Pahārī miniature painting are not traceable to any date earlier than the Aurangzeb period. The Chart could with advantage have been omitted. Apart from several errors it follows no warranted classification and is apt to mislead.

(*g*) Aniruddha Chand of Kāngrā fled from his State in *circa* 1828 and not in 1831.

With regard to the Plates, the following facts may be noted :

(*a*) Plate 12, which the author ascribes to Guler, is in fact from Garhwal and originally belonged to Bichittar Shāh of Garhwal. It undoubtedly has Guler affinities but this is accounted for by the fact that the late Guler style was adopted to some extent in Garhwal, probably after 1815, to which period Plate 12 belongs.

(*b*) Plate 14, which the author ascribes to Guler is, in all probability, from Chamba. Many Guler and Chamba paintings have affinities, but several details in Plate 14 suggest Chamba rather than Guler.

(*c*) Plate 27 is wrongly described in the caption as belonging to the Lambagraon collection. In the 'List of Plates', however, it is correctly shown as belonging to the Guler Darbar collection.

(*d*) Plate 28 is not from Tīrā-Sujānpur. In fact, it was painted in Mandi by Sajnu in 1808. We have checked the inscription on the reverse. But Sajnu was one of Sansār Chand's artists who took employment under Isvarī Sen of Mandi when Kāngrā was overrun by the Gurkhas in 1806. Hence the style of Plate 28 is one of the many styles in vogue at Sansār Chand's atelier, though the miniature was painted at Mandi.

W. G. Archer, who has written the introduction, suggests that the collections brought to light by Randhawa confirm the theory that Guler was the birthplace of Kāngrā painting. But it becomes increasingly clear with new discoveries that Kāngrā painting was a logical outcome of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase (*circa* 1740-1765) which was prevalent all over the Hills and that no particular State can be regarded as the birthplace of Kāngrā painting. Hence the theory that Guler was the birthplace of Kāngrā painting is without any substance. Both Archer and the author

have been misled by the fact that the Guler Darbar collection being fairly intact could adequately illustrate the development of Pahārī art, while most other Hill collections, having been broken up and dispersed, would not evidence continuity of development.

K. J. K.

ROOPA LEKHĀ, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, New Delhi 1955. (Silver Jubilee Number). Rs. 12/-. *Roopa Lekhā* is one of the few art magazines in this country. Though rather heterogeneous in character it probably satisfies diverse tastes. A few of the articles in each issue cater for the connoisseur and serious student of Indian art, while there is a good deal on contemporary painting, sculpture, music, dance, literature etc.

'Śiva Naṭarāja' by P. R. Srinivasan is the first instalment of a series of articles on this theme. It deals with various types of Naṭarāja images but we wish the author had sought to analyse the stylistic development of the Naṭarāja image and the characteristics peculiar to each period.

'A Figure of Gaṅgā, and a Bronze Tārā' by A. K. Bhattacharya deals with two interesting acquisitions by the National Museum. The bronze Tārā is assigned to the 8th-9th century A.D. It probably belongs to that period and is a very naive and delightful image though of miniature size. The stone figure of Gaṅgā is a characteristic elaborate Sena sculpture. The author's remark that Sena sculpture can compare favourably with Gupta art need not be taken seriously. Sena art is very decorative and displays a high order of technical skill, but it cannot avoid the stigma of decadence. Within the limitations of its style Gaṅgā is indeed an attractive sculpture, apart from its undoubted iconographic interest.

'Indian Carpets since Mughal Times' is mere padding and all good journals should avoid such 'fillers'.

'A Rāgiṇī Set from Amber' by Adris Banerji deals with a 19th century Jaipur *Rāgamālā* series of no importance or beauty. One wonders why a writer of Adris Banerji's discernment should have laboured over a series of little worth.

'Garhwal school not founded by Guler Artists', by Mukandi Lal, is a refutation of W. G. Archer's theory—put forward in his brochure *Garhwal Painting*, 1955—that the masterpieces of the Garhwal school are the work of Guler artists who probably came from Guler with a Guler princess (daughter of one Ajab Singh) who is supposed to have married Pradyumna Shāh of Garhwal (1785-1804). The statement that Pradyumna Shāh married a Guler princess was made by Mukandi Lal himself in *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, p. 36. Archer accepted this statement without verifying it and based or partly based an entire theory on it. The present reviewer